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Ambassador to FRG Cited on Missile Modernization

AU1005121289 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, Soviet ambassador to Bonn, has warned of more far-reaching consequences if new U.S. short-range nuclear missiles are introduced in Europe. The Soviet Union considers this the destruction of the business basis of the treaty on the reduction of intermediate-range missiles with ranges of 500-5,500 km, among other things, said Kvitsinskiy in an interview for the illustrated weekly STERN, that was prereleased today [10 May].

The NATO missile modernization issue will be discussed at the NATO summit in Brussels at the end of May.

Soviet Missile Inspectors Arrive in Italy

LD1005163589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Rome, 10 May (TASS)—Within the framework of verifying fulfilment of the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, a group of Soviet inspectors has arrived in the Italian capital.

In accordance with the existing provisions, it will proceed, accompanied by U.S. and Italian inspectors, to the military base in Comiso where at the present time the dismantling of U.S. missiles is being carried out.

During the year, since the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles came into force, said Soviet group leader V.A. Akimenkov on his arrival at the Ciampino military aerodrome, the system for monitoring and verifying which was developed has shown its effectiveness.

In fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, he noted, the Soviet side has destroyed about 800 missiles, which comprises approximately 50 percent of their overall number subject to liquidation. The U.S. side, up to the present moment, has destroyed around 300 missiles.

The Soviet representative expressed confidence that the time periods laid down by the treaty for their elimination will be observed.

V.A. Akimenkov evaluated positively the help and the contribution of the governments of the countries on whose territories U.S. missiles are located in the matter of eliminating the lethal weapons.

Soviet Commander Cited on Troop Withdrawal

AU1005093989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 May 89 p 3

[Text] Jueterbog—On Friday [5 May] in the 288th Tank Regiment of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] journalists from the GDR and from 22 other countries and Berlin (West) became informed about the gradual withdrawal of troop units and combat technology to the USSR. The withdrawal and subsequent disbanding belongs to a complex of unilateral disarmament steps by the USSR, which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly last December.

In the GDR this applies to the 25th and the 32d as well as the 7th and 12th Tank Divisions as well as other troop units. The Soviet divisions remaining on GDR territory are receiving an even stronger defense character. This is what Erich Honecker announced to the world public on the occasion of the visit of Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson to the GDR at the beginning of the year.

At the end of last week, the GDR started its unilateral disarmament steps with the gradual disbanding of six tank regiments of the National People's Army [NVA].

Lieutenant General Valeriy Fursin, first deputy commander in chief and chief of staff of the GSFG, pointed out that these concrete peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and of other socialist states correspond to the spirit and the contents of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. They help to strengthen world peace. At the same time, everything necessary is being done to guarantee the security of the socialist states and to be able to repel any aggression at any time.

Schedules Have Already Been Fixed

The withdrawal of the units from GDR territory is taking place in line with an exact plan that has been coordinated between the Soviet General Staff, the GDR Government, and the NVA main staff, Lt Gen Fursin said. The preparatory stage has already been concluded, the schedules have been fixed, and containers and railroad cars have been supplied. All problems that needed discussion have been cleared up with the responsible organs of the transit country, Poland. At the same time the withdrawal of individual units including their equipment has started. Soldiers of an independent airborne battalion from the Neues Lager [New Camp] Garrison, for instance, are already back home. At the moment more than 1,000 tanks have been taken back to the USSR; part of the military objects of the GSFG are being prepared to be handed over to the GDR.

Restructuring measures have been taken in order to give the remaining units an even stricter defensive character, Lt Gen Fursin stressed and explained this process with some examples: Tank regiments are being taken out of the motorized rifle divisions, and the number of tanks in these units is reduced by 40 percent. In addition, the tank divisions are reduced by one tank regiment each. This means that the number of tanks in these divisions is reduced by more than one-fifth.

At the same time, it is planned to raise the proportion of antitank and antiaircraft equipment and equipment for the building of barriers and mine fields as well as of

means for camouflage for engineers in the restructured units. The already existing independent tank units will be turned into motorized rifle regiments. In the course of this their amount of tanks will be reduced by 60 to 80 percent. Thus, they are exclusively oriented toward defensive tasks, Lt Gen Fursin said.

In the next stage of the coordinate plan, further units will be withdrawn from the GDR between May and August 1989. The reduction of the GSFG units is to be concluded by November or December 1990. Between May and August of this year it is planned to withdraw the 25th Tank Division, which is stationed in Vogelsang, and the 32d Tank Division from Jueterbog. These units will be disbanded in the towns of Shdanovka and Krivoi Rog, both in the Kiev Military District. The two tank training regiments in Krampnitz and Werder are to be shifted to the Soviet Baltic area and to Belorussia; two airborne battalions and four battalions of special troops will return to the USSR, Lt Gen Fursin stated.

In total, the combat equipment of the GSFG will be reduced by more than 4,000 combat tanks, 24 launch pads for tactical missiles, 80 launch pads of the "Kub" antiaircraft missile system, and 137 combat planes. All current steps correspond to the strict defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, Lt Gen Fursin stressed. By the way, this can also be felt in combat training. Maneuver observers from the CSCE signatory states were able to convince themselves of this during tactical maneuvers. The Soviet general invited the representatives of the mass media to attend the departure of military trains in Jueterbog on 17 May and in Prenzlau on 18 May.

Asked about how the personnel will be used in the future, he said that soldiers and noncommissioned officers will be shifted to reserve forces according to plan and part of the officers will be retired or will do service in various military districts. Family circumstances have also been taken into consideration. For instance, army members with children who go to school will return to the USSR only at the beginning of the school vacations.

In the Technology Park With Young Soldiers

After the press conference, the journalists seized the opportunity to look at T-64 tanks ready to be loaded and quarters on the training grounds. They had numerous talks with members of the regiments and higher staffs.

Many things on the spacious grounds where the tank soldiers live remind the visitor of history. The history of the troop unit began on 22 December 1942. The fascists had forced many European states under their boots and blockaded Leningrad; at the Volga River bitter fighting went on for every block of buildings. The regiment was stationed at Malakhovka station, 15 km from Moscow, as the special airborne rifle brigade number 204. In its ranks were seamen from the Pacific and workers from the Urals. The regiment received its baptism of fire at Sosnovka, the soldiers crossed the Dnepr, fought in the Kursk Bend, crossed the Vistula, freed Dresden, which had sunk in debris and ash, and hurried on to help the Prague rebels. In the Tradition Room combat maps, photographs, and personal mementos illustrate the path of fighting, the path of victory. There, one also can read the letter of the past fighters at the front to those who succeed them. Every soldier knows its contents: "Be aware of the fact that the peoples see you as the soldiers who brought liberation in 1945. Today you are a secure shield of peace and security for mankind. The homeland places great expectations in you, remembering the toll of blood with which our generation fought for peace."

We Protect the Socialist Achievements

"My soldiers have always honorably fulfilled this assignment," said Regiment Commander Anatoliy Poltavskiy, who has been preparing the withdrawal with his staff since the beginning of March. "On 17 May the last of my 90 tanks will be sent on their way under observance of all security regulations."

Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Trusgin, who has been the political representative in the regiment for 5 years, said: "When the order to pack our suitcases came, our 140 Communists did not have to talk long about its meaning. The order, as well as the disbanding of tank units of the NVA and other comrades-in-arms of the Warsaw Pact, is part of the socialist peace policy, proof of goodwill. There are not yet any comparable steps in the NATO armies.... We do not let this slip our minds."

The members of the Altes Lager [Old Camp] Garrison had numerous meetings with citizens from the surrounding regions, with pioneers and teachers from Belzig, cooperative peasants of the Dahnsdorf Agricultural Producer Cooperative, and with members of the Free German Youth who have decided to become officers. "We keep the best memories of the GDR. Of course, the comrades of other units who are now fulfilling the military assignment to protect the socialist achievements together with the NVA will continue to cultivate the friendly contacts with the working people of the Belzig and Jueterbog Kreises."

NEW TIMES Weekly Views Troop Withdrawals

LD1105085689 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 11 May 89

[TExt] Moscow May 11 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from Hungary, the German Democratic Repubic and Czechoslovakia is one of the practical manifestations of new political thinking which rules out the use of force and the threat of force as a means of settling disputes. The goal of ensuring security can be achieved on the basis of sensible and reliable sufficiency, an analyst of the Soviet NEW TIMES weekly comments on the Soviet pull-out, which started recently.

The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops is accompanied by sizeable cuts in the national Armed Forces and defence budgets both in the Soviet Union and in other Warsaw Treaty states. This will significantly reduce the asymmetry between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in tanks, artillery, armoured personnel carriers and promote progress at the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks.

The analyst recalls that the structure of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces is also being changed to comply with the defensive posture taken by these states. By the end of 1990 the Soviet Army will be reduced from 4,258,000 to 3,760,000 men. The Army will also restructure its military organisation, scaling down military production by one fifth and converting 40 per cent of capacities in the defence industry to civilian production (60 per cent by 1995).

The commentary also notes that the Soviet troop withdrawal and unilateral cuts were taking place in an atmosphere of unusual openness. The withdrawal of the first Soviet unit from the Hungarian city of Kiskunhalas was observed by 150 foeign correspondents. Soviet withdrawal from other countries is also likely to take place under a glare of publicity. The USSR has set up a public monitoring group ready to cooperate with Soviet public oganisations and foreign representatives.

The socialist states are now laying the foundations for the common European home. The ball is now in NATO's court, the analyst writes.

Reductions in Soviet, Pact Forces Viewed

LD1005180189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] The first phase in reducing the numbers of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany starts tomorrow. I have asked our political commentator, Aleksandr Zholkver, to comment on the significance of that event:

[Zholkver] Let me first recall that even in this phase 10,000 of our military personnel and 1,000 tanks will be withdrawn from the GDR. But it's not just the GDR that's involved. The numbers of our forces in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are also being reduced by a total of 50,000 men and officers and 5,000 tanks. Additionally, as you know, of course, the numbers of our armed forces on Soviet territory are also being reduced by half a million in coming years. To this we should add that all the other Warsaw Pact countries have also announced imminent cuts in their armed forces and armaments totalling 56,000 military personnel and 2,000 tanks. Incidentally, in the GDR itself, recently the disbanding of one of the tank regiments of the National People's Army began already.

Why am I discussing all this in such detail? First of all, to point out that this time our word is not differing from our deeds, as the saying goes. The revision of our military doctrine in the sense of giving it a purely defensive nature is being confirmed by practical deeds. Not only is the number of armed forces of the Warsaw Pact being reduced, but also their structure is also being changed. Divisions are being regrouped, the number of tanks in them is being cut and assault and storm units are being wound up.

All these changes, together with the reductions of military budgets that accompany them, are already bringing a direct benefit to the economy. Today, for instance, I saw a report that in the Belorussian military district, the sale of trucks to local state farms and hirers had begun.

But it's not just the internal aspect of the problem that's at stake. No less important is its foreign policy aspect. As you know, the NATO countries' refusal to cut their armed forces and armaments was for many years explained away by references to the numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pact. It is true that, while there was an overall military parity, there were certain imbalances in our favor—for instance, in tanks. But now, as we see, the situation is changing substantially. In these conditions, in the Atlantic capitals there is now talk of the need to respond to the East's initiative. The governments of many NATO countries, especially the FRG, have, for instance, expressed support for the Warsaw Pact countries' recent proposal that talks should start very shortly on the elimination on the European continent of yet another class of nuclear weapons—tactical weapons. However, Washington and London, with a stubbornness that deserves a better use, are resisting this. Moreover, as emerges from a report on U.S. President Bush's meeting last night with Netherlands Prime Minister Lubbers, Washington is still insisting on what it calls the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons—which really means enhancing their effectiveness.

Yet, I think, the winds of change will not pass the Atlantic capitals by, either. At any rate, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher has just expressed once more his confidence that despite U.S. presssure, all the NATO allies will gradually come out in favor of talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

Defense Ministry Official on CW in Europe

18000932 Mosow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Lieutenant General S. Petrov, USSR Defense Ministry Chief of Chemical Troops: "Europe and Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The Soviet Union, which enunciated a program in January 1986 to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, consistently comes out for a quick conclusion of an international convention on a universal and total ban on chemical weapons.

For these reasons, the USSR tabled a number of constructive proposals to ban chemical weapons in negotiations that are being held within the framework of the Disarmament Conference, and it also took a number of practical actions in this direction, including a cessation of chemical weapons production; and it declared that it will start to destroy its stockpiles of these weapons this year.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Union tried as much as possible to promote the reinforcement of an atmosphere of trust between participants in the negotiations, considering this process to be a necessary condition for a quick conclusion of a convention.

The Soviet Union is still the only possessor of chemical weapons that has announced the size of its stockpiles of these weapons. The stockpiles of chemical weapons in the USSR do not exceed 50,000 tons of toxic agents. In addition, the Soviet Union declared that it never employed this weapon, did not transfer it to foreign hands, and did not deploy it outside its own borders.

Soviet representatives have repeatedly explained that our announced stockpile figure includes all toxic agents in the armaments inventory, both those kept in munitions and in containers.

Despite this, attempts are made periodically in the Western mass media to raise doubts about the correctness of the announced size of chemical weapons stores and thereby to cast a shadow on the sincerity of USSR intentions.

Thus, those who speculate about the Soviet chemical threat are trying in every way possible to quietly evade the fact that the Soviet Union has officially announced the absence of its chemical weapons outside its own borders. Dozens of depots in the Groups of Soviet Forces are cited which are supposed to be storing chemical weapons.

The unilateral announcements in the area of chemical weapons made by the Soviet Union, of course, are the first step on the road to full trust. But we are prepared to go farther down this road. If the U.S. will follow our example, and declare the size of its own stockpiles of chemical weapons, the location of chemical weapons depots, including those on foreign territory, the USSR will submit data on the location of its own depots and the composition of chemical weapons in them. This information could be verified in detail subsequently.

The Soviet Union does not have chemical weapons beyond the borders of its national territory, and there are no chemical weapons in the Groups of Soviet Forces located on the territories of the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. Warsaw Pact states have also announced the absence of chemical stockpiles in their countries. Thus, the presence of American chemical weapons on FRG territory ensures NATO a clear superiority over the Warsaw Pact in the sphere of chemical weapons in Central Europe. Perhaps it is precisely to justify this superiority that various kinds of slanderous fabrications about the presence of Soviet chemical weapons in this region are directed?

We are also alert to the fact that NATO member states did not make any specific announcements regarding the fact that their armed forces will not employ American chemical weapons stored in Europe.

Therefore, there are protection, chemical reconnaissance, and decontamination means in depots of the Groups of Soviet Forces.

The Soviet Union has supported and supports the initiatives of the GDR and CSSR, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the creation of zones free of chemical weapons correspondingly in the center of Europe and in the Balkans. On the one hand, these initiatives promote a global ban on chemical weapons. On the other hand, they remove the threat of chemical war from Europe, which is brought about by the presence there of American chemical weapons. For, according to the estimate of specialists, a chemical war in Europe, taking into account the high population density and limited territory, is equivalent to an ecological catastrophe, whose victims, first and foremost, would be the civilian population.

The conclusion of an effective international convention on a universal ban on chemical weapons is the main guarantee that mankind will be completely and forever rid of the threat of chemical war

It is exactly in this direction that the Soviet Union is applying its efforts.

Further on Gerasimov 10 May News Briefing

Gorbachev To Receive Baker 11 May

LD1005192189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1849 Gmt 10 May 89

[TEXT] Moscow, 10 May (TASS)—During the Soviet-U.S. talks that started in Moscow today, the Soviet side pointed out in particular that the idea of convening a Near East peace conference does not rule out other initiatives that might promote a cessation of the bloodshed in that region. This was announced today at a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. He said that in addition to regional problems, attention was paid during the talks to human rights. Gerasimov emphasized that in the past debates on this range of problems have been heated and argumentative. This time, however, the sides had briefed each other about the action they were taking to ensure that USSR and U.S. legislation is brought into line with the countries' international obligations.

Although at the wish of the U.S. side disarmament problems were not the first to be discussed, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, the sides agreed that the talks on nuclear and space weapons are extremely important, and consequently it was decided to renew them at delegations level in the second 10-day-period of this June. The Soviet side had proposed to do this earlier, in May.

"Of course it is important not to spare the time to reflect on political problems, as the U.S. side is doing," Gerasimov said. "However we cannot fully agree with this framing of the question, because while diplomats are resting new types of weapons are being developed."

The USSR foreign minister put particularly insistently the question of the need to begin considering problems of sea-based cruise missiles. "The U.S. position of an absolute refusal to hold talks on this topic is leading to a deadlock, since in the final analysis it is an attempt to preserve a nuclear preponderance for the United States," Gerasimov said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that tomorrow at 1000 [0600 GMT], Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will receive U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. At 1600 [1200 GMT], the U.S. secretary of state is expected to give a news conference, following which a news conference by the USSR minister of foreign affairs is planned.

It was also announced at the briefing that on the evening of 11 May Eduard Shevardnadze will meet the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states in Moscow to brief them on the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting.

Efforts Made to Free POW's

LD1005140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 May, (TASS)—The USSR Foreign Ministry will work unremittingly to seek out Soviet military personnel taken captive in Afghanistan, and have them returned home, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry at a briefing here today. He announced that thanks to cooperation between the Foreign Ministry and other organizations and agencies, it has been possible to save 25 people, not only from Pakistan and from Afghan soil temporarily under rebel control, but also from the United States, Canada, and West European countries which they had reached by various ways.

The question of Soviet POW's Gennadiy Gerasimov said, is constantly raised at talks, especially talks with representatives of countries that have a direct connection with this matter—Pakistan, Iran, and other Muslim states. Appeals were made on this topic to the presidents of the United States, France, and the FRG, and to the prime ministers of Great Britain, Canada, and other countries. Efforts are being made to use the capabilities of the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as prominent politicians and public figures.

Contacts with the Afghan opposition are also being used in the search. But the work, the USSR Foreign Ministry emphasized, is complicated by the divergent interests of the different Afghan opposition groups and their wish to use the Soviet POW's in their political game.

C. America, West Bank Elections Discussed

LD1005150189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 May (TASS)—The Soviet side places great hopes on the talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, according to Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing here today.

He remarked that at the first session the sides had expressed support for the maintenance of the principle of continuity in relations between the two states and had expressed their willingness to enrich these relations with new aspects.

The USSR Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued, will work unremittingly to seek out and have returned home Soviet military personnel taken captive in Afghanistan. He announced that thanks to cooperation between the Foreign Ministry and other organizations and agencies, it had been possible to save 25 persons, not only from Pakistan and from Afghan soil temporarily under the control of the rebels, but also from the United States, Canada, and West European countries, which they had reached by various ways.

During USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to the FRG 12-13 May, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman announced, there will be a discussion of the preparations for the Soviet-West German summit to be held 12-15 June. The draft joint political document will be examined, as will matters relating to the elaboration of new agreements directed at expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation.

Answering correspondents' questions concerning the U.S. President's planned trip to Poland and Hungary, Gennadiy Gerasimov said: "The Soviet Union considers trips by statesmen to be a very positive phenomenon-...contacts favor the construction of the 'general European home.' Consequently, the Soviet side has and can have no objection to President Bush's plans to visit the two East European countries...The split in Europe, the division of Europe is possibly one of our predecessors' biggest mistakes." Answering another question, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the question of a further Soviet-U.S. summit was not raised at the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker.

The Soviet spokesman drew attention to the fact that Nicaragua had agreed that foreign representatives should observe the elections to be held in that country next year. Regarding the situation in Panama, he pointed out that the Soviet Union had no presence in that country and consequently could not act either as an advocate or as an accuser over the matter of how the recent elections there had been held.

Asked what was the Soviet Government's official position on Israeli Prime Minister Yitshaq Shamir's proposal for elections to be held on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, Gennadiy Gerasimov replied that elections without the PLO's participation were not elections, but a sham aimed at setting up puppet representative bodies with which Tel Aviv could reach a peace.

U.S., Israel To Block PLO WHO Application

LD1005170389 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The 42nd session of the General Assembly of the World Health Organisation (WHO) today began discussing a PLO application to change its observer status to that of a full-fledged WHO member. It appears that this item will be the most acute one on the agenda of the session of this specialized agency of the United Nations with a membership of 166 countries. This is attributed to the desire of the United States and its strategic ally in the Middle East—Israel—to do their utmost to prevent the PLO application from being granted.

Why has the Palestinian demarche so frightened Washington and Tel Aviv? It is quite clear that they fear lest the PLO's full-fledged WHO membership should stimulate the already active process of international recognition of the independent Palestinian state proclaimed on 15 November 1988. It will be recalled that by early April this year 104 countries announced their recognition of the Palestinian state which it is proposed to set up on the Palestinian land in the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip now occupied by Israel.

Washington is also apprehensive that the upgrading of PLO's representation in the WHO will set a kind of a precedent and open the prospect for a full-fledged Palestinian participation in other specialized agencies of the United Nations. The fact is that the PLO has already submitted an official application for membership in UNESCO and made public similar plans with regard to the FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization] and the ILO [International Labor Office]. These developments are fraught for the USA and Israel with the prospect of finding themselves in a still greater isolation over the Palestinian issue.

Concern is caused not only by the very fact that Washington is determined to block the PLO's full-fledged membership in the WHO but also by the manner in which it is going to achieve this. Louis Sullivan, U.S. secretary of health and human services who takes part in the WHO General Assembly session, said in Geneva that Washington would withhold its membership contributions to the WHO budget if the organisation's members dare to satisfy the PLO's request. If this is not a nice specimen of down and out political blackmail, then what is it?

It looks as if the United States has not drawn any lessons for itself from its attempts to dictate its will to the international community. It looks as if the USA has dim memories of the past when such attempts met with resolute opposition from other states and seriously damaged the prestige of the U.S. Administration.

United States & Canada

U.S. Secretary of State Meets Soviet Leaders

Holds Talks With Shevardnadze 10 May

LD1005175389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Talks began in Moscow this morning between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and James Baker, U.S. secretary of state. The ministers first met for a one-to-one talk during which they discussed the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations and the fundamental approaches to their development. In this context the most topical issues of world politics were touched upon at the general level. Both sides confirmed their readiness to develop relations between the USSR and the United States, proceeding from the accord reached by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush on maintaining continuity in expanding and deepening the positive dialogue and cooperation between the two countries, and enriching them with new facets.

James Baker reported that he has instructions to pass on a personal message from U.S. President George Bush to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

At the plenary meeting which followed the ministers defined the organizational parameters of the Moscow talks and set up working groups of experts on questions of disarmament, regional problems, bilateral, transnational, and humanitarian questions.

The appointed groups, whose purpose is to work out the technical details of the talks, immediately started talks.

During the restricted talks which took place after this, particular attention was devoted to examining regional problems, primarily the situation around Afghanistan, the situation in Central America and in the Near East, including Lebanon. At the same time there was also detailed discussion of the European problems, in particular from the viewpoint of the search for ways of overcoming the artificial division of the continent. Questions on humanitarian cooperation and human rights were examined in a constructive spirit and in detail.

Taking into account the intense nature of security issues, particularly the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, both sides began an exchange of opinions on the most important aspects of the disarmament sphere, with the aim in particular of renewing in the nearest future talks on nuclear and space weapons, on underground nuclear explosions, and conslutations on banning chemical weapons, and other key questions. The ministers agreed to resume at delegation level the talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva in the second 10-day period of June. The ministers' talks, which are taking place in a businesslike atmosphere, will continue on 11 May.

Received by Gorbachev

LD1105075289 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

A meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has begun at the St. Catherine Hall in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Before the meeting, journalists asked the secretary of state about his opinion of the course of the Soviet-American negotiations. Baker answered he would give a reply after his conversation with the general secretary. Mikhail Gorbachev was asked the same question. "I think everything will proceed normally," he answered.

When asked by correspondents whether progress had been made on regional matters, Gorbachev answered with a smile that he intended to hear about that in detail from Shevardnadze and Baker.

This is a one-to-one meeting at the beginning, and then members of the Soviet and American delegations will join it.

Discusses Arms Control With Shevardnadze

LD1105150289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)—The talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, continued in Moscow today.

The sides concluded the examination of key issues in the priority sphere of arms limitation and reduction.

There was an exchange of opinions on issues relating to the problem of nuclear and space weapons.

Both sides expressed an interest in active dialogue on this important problem. They noted that the greater part of the work has been done on the way to drafting a treaty on 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive weaponry, and that it is now necessary to work towards its completion. A good foundation exists for this, in the shape of the joint drafts of the treaty and accompanying documents that have already been prepared.

The U.S. side set forth the overall approach of the new administration to the problems of nuclear and space weapons, stating that specific details of the United States' position will be presented later in the course of

the talks being resumed in Geneva. They stressed the importance of the future treaty leading to a strengthening of stability and predictability, and to a reduction in the danger of nuclear war.

When the Soviet approach to issues of reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons was set forth, it was again explained that the implementation of such cuts is possible only under the conditions of preserving the ABM Treaty and observing it in the form in which it was signed in 1972. Everything necessary to achieve an accord on this already exists. This is first and foremost the formula agreed to at the summit level in Washington in December 1987, to which it is necessary to impart the status of a legally concluded treaty. This would open up an opportunity to make headway towards a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

The Soviet side also turned attention to the necessity of solving in the context of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons the question of limiting long-range sea-based cruise missiles. On the negotiation table are specific Soviet proposals on the mode of limiting these missiles and also on a ramified [razvernutoy] system of monitoring. They are awaiting a constructive answer. It was again stressed that without agreement on the limitation of sea-based cruise missiles, there cannot be an effective treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

An understanding was reached on resuming the work of the delegations at the nuclear and space weapons talks in Geneva during the second 10-day period of June this year.

The sides expounded their evaluations of the results of the first session of the Vienna talks on conventional weapons in Europe. It was noted that the discussions at it revealed a considerable degree of agreement and similarity in a number of basic positions of both sides.

During the exchange of opinions the Soviet side stressed the need for the initial reductions to cover, apart from tanks, artillery, and combat armored vehicles, also types of armaments that provide the potential for a sudden attack, such as combat aircraft of the tactical strike Air Force and combat helicopters, which are a powerful and mobile component of such a potential. The cuts should also cover numerical troop strength.

As for the talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe, the Soviet Union advocates the adoption of a new generation of confidence-building and security measures that would include not only the practice of expanding the exchange of information, but also limitations on military activity and confidence-building measures covering autonomous activity of naval and air forces. Essentially this would signify a transition from confidence-building measures in individual spheres of military activity to a large-scale policy of confidence-building and would make it possible to raise the whole complex of such measures to a qualitatively new level.

In the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker, there was also an examination of the question of tactical nuclear weapons. The Soviet side expressed the view that along with the cut in conventional armed forces in Europe, the problem of tactical nuclear weapons will assume special immediacy.

The USSR foreign minister noted that the Soviet Union does not intend to tie questions of conventional armed forces and tactical nuclear weapons together in one negotiations knot. At the same time, one must not fail to take account of the fact that the maintenance, modernization, and even more so the further increase in this type of weaponry, which has enormous destructive potential and capacity to be used in a first strike, will exert an increasingly destabilizing influence on the military strategic situation in Europe.

The Soviet Union has proposed a speedy start to consultations on preparing for negotiations on cutting tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

The Soviet side expressed considerations on the advisability of holding talks on cutting and restricting naval forces.

A serious, principled exchange of views took place on the problem of completely banning and eliminating chemical weapons, in the course of which both sides stressed the high priority nature of the task of concluding a comprehensive, global, and effectively verified [kontroliruyemaya] international convention on this matter.

An accord was reached that delegations of the USSR and the United States will hold another round of bilateral consultations in Geneva on banning chemical weapons, with the aim of seeking mutually acceptable solutions on the remaining issues, including bilateral measures for strengthening trust in connection with preparing the convention. This round will commence in the first days of the work of the summer session of the disarmament conference in Geneva, the official opening of which is planned for 13 June this year.

The proximity of the two sides' positions was also noted with regard to the problem of nonproliferation of chemical weapons, particularly concerning the necessity of joint actions to keep the present unfavorable trends in this area in check. It was agreed that representatives of the two countries will hold another meeting to examine this problem in detail.

The sides have come to an accord to resume full-scale talks on limiting and banning nuclear tests on 26 June 1989. At these talks, the delegations are faced with the task of completing, as soon as possible, the coordination of improved measures of monitoring the 1974 treaty on

limitation of the power of underground tests of nuclear weapons and of proceeding without delay to the next stage of the talks: the drawing up of accords on further limitations on the power and number of nuclear weapons tests, bearing in mind the final aim of halting them completely.

Concern was expressed by both sides on the dangers which the uncontrolled proliferation of combat missiles and rocket technology, especially in the areas of regional conflicts, is fraught with. The Soviet side has come out in favor of the creation of effective regulations and procedures for the nonproliferation of missiles and rocket technology with elements of both bilateral Soviet-American and multialteral cooperation. The sides have come to an agreement to continue contacts on this matter.

Further, there was a discussion on a conceptual level of questions concerning bilateral relations and a number of transnational problems, which now constitute a separate sphere of interaction within the framework of the Soviet-American dialogue.

On behalf of their governments, the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state signed an agreement on cooperation in combating pollution in the Bering and Chukchi Seas in emergency situations.

On conclusion of the negotiations at the ministerial level, Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker heard reports from the leaders of the working groups of experts on various issues concerning the results of the work done by them and in this connection gave additional instructions to their delegations at the corresponding bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

The sides adopted a joint statement on Lebanon.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the overall results of the negotiations, a central element of which was Mikhail Gorbachev's reception of the U.S. secretary of state.

Agreement was reached on continuing contacts at the ministerial level as an important element in the development of the Soviet-American political dialogue.

Signs U.S.-USSR Antipollution Accord

LD1105123989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)—An agreement on cooperation in the struggle against pollution in the Bering and Chukotka seas in extraordinary situations was today signed by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1116 GMT on 11 May carries a similar report which adds: "Addressing journalists, Eduard Shevardnadze said: 'We now have signed a good agreement.' James Baker expressed full agreement with this appraisal."]

The sides pledged to work out a joint plan of extraordinary measures in the event of a spillage of oil or other harmful substances in the Bering and Chukotka seas. In accordance with the plan, they will give each other essential assistance.

The creation of national systems in the Soviet Union and the United States that make it possible to discover such incidents in a timely fashion and notify the other side about them immediately are planned. Within the framework of the agreement, Soviet and U.S. specialists will regularly exchange essential information in the course of bilateral consultations. Joint exercises within the framework of combating sea and ocean pollution are also planned. "The signing of the agreement is a major step in the development of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to eliminate the consequences of ecological disasters at sea, said Oleg Khalimonov, an expert of the USSR Maritime Fleet Ministry, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. The interaction mechanism that has been worked out will make it possible for specialists to define in a matter of hours the scale of the accident and draw up joint measures to eliminate the consequences, implementing them right away. Previously, days, and at times weeks, had to pass before such measures were taken."

It is noteworthy, emphasized Oleg Khalimonov, that the mechanism being set up within the framework of the agreement began to operate for real even before the document itself was signed. The special Soviet vessel "Vaydagubskiy" is now off the shores of Alaska, taking part in the operation to clean up after the accident involving the "Exxon Valdez" tanker. Soviet and U.S. specialists on the spot are coordinating operations by the rescue services of both countries.

Seen Off by Bessmertnykh

LD1105160389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1552 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)—Having finished a 2-day official visit to our country at the invitation of the Soviet Government, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker left the USSR today. At the airport the U.S. foreign policy chief was seen off by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Bessmertnykh Says Baker Talks 'Constructive'

LD1005184189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 10 (TASS)—"A businesslike, constructive, and generally good, calm atmosphere." That is the description Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, gave to the spirit of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow, in an interview with TASS correspondents.

Even the most acute problems, he said, were discussed with a wish to understand each other better and to explain positions. The talks are complex but it is important that the U.S. side has stated the continuity of the present administration's policy in relations with the USSR, as a result of which the talks have reached the present phase quite easily.

The deputy minister noted that the difference between the current meeting and earlier ones involving George Shultz were rather "stylistic and personal in kind." There are, he said, nuances in the approach to a number of questions. Among the positive points, a certain freshness in the approach to certain regional problems may be noted, and a readiness to seek joint solutions. In other words, these are intensive and not easy talks, as is usually the case when we meet the United States, and are extremely useful.

Asked whether serious steps had been taken or the prerequisites for such steps had been created in the disarmament sphere, Bessmertnykh replied: "We began discussing these questions in the afternoon. We set out our fundamental approach on all this complex of problems and tried to identify both points of convergence and divergence. We consider that it is very important to adhere to the accords that were reached at the summit level in December 1987 and the summer of 1988. A powerful basis has been created for future talks. We have already achieved specific accords—in particular, the sides have decided that the next round of talks on nuclear and space weapons at delegation level will begin in the second 10-day period of this June. It will be quite prolonged; then the sides will separate for a recess during which the approaches will be studied, and the talks will resume in September. The discussion of all the specific aspects of arms control will be continued on 11 May."

Karpov Says Test Ban Talks To Resume 26 Jun

LD1105121189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1123 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)—A plenary session of Soviet-U.S. talks, headed by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, has begun here. At the session the leaders of the working groups—on questions of disarmament, regional questions, bilateral relations, transnational problems, humanitarian questions, and human rights—will give Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker reports on the work that has been done.

Commenting on the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow, Viktor Karpov, leader of the working group on disarmament questions and USSR deputy foreign minister, said: "Perhaps the main thing is the fact that the pause in the bilateral dialogue is at an end; the dialogue will be continued. A great deal now depends on how active the U.S. side will be, since the dynamics of talks can only develop when both participants in the dialogue are active."

As learned by a TASS diplomatic correspondent, one of the concrete results of the talks in Moscow is an agreement to resume in Geneva on 26 June the Soviet-U.S. talks on halting nuclear tests.

China

PRC Foreign Ministry Spokesman Cited on Summit

LD1105093789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 11 May (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrives next week in the PRC on an official visit. This will be the first visit to China by the highest-level leader of the USSR for the past 30 years. This was stated here today at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists by a representative of the PRC Foreign Ministry.

During his visit to China, he noted, M.S. Gorbachev will hold talks with Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders. There will be an intensive and in-depth dialogue on a wide range of matters concerning the normalization of relations beween the two countries, the Kampuchean question, and other problems of mutual interest. We hope that the visit will be a success.

The Soviet-Chinese summit, the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, is of enormous significance. The normalization of relations between the USSR and China accords not only with the fundamental interests of the peoples of both our countries, but also of Asia and the world as a whole.

Summit Effect on World Strategic Balance Viewed

LD1005152789 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 10 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Beijing May 10 TASS—By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov:

We are to witness a remarkable international event shortly. It will be of huge historical significance. For the first time in the past three decades Beijing will host a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Observers, who are trying on the eve of the meeting to forecast its far-reaching consequences, are unanimous that it is bound to yield many most varied benefits not only to the peoples of the USSR and China, but to the entire world community, contribute to the consolidation of peace and stability in Asia and in all the world.

International developments depend largely on relations between the USSR and China. Hence, it is not without reason that many people in the Asian-Pacific region believe that improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations

will stimulate regional trade, contribute to multilateral economic cooperation, to the elimination of seats of tension. Official representatives of different countries of the region have already expressed their positive attitude to the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

However, attempts are being made in some capitals, proceeding from old confrontational stereotypes, to play down or even distort the essence of the forthcoming event. The Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN, for instance, is troubled that Chinese-Soviet reconciliation "will not only ease the economic burden of both states, but will give them broader freedom of action in the diplomatic arena". And this, in its opinion, "will doubtlessly set a difficult task before the United States, as well as before Japan and other Western nations". Then the newspaper goes over to outright intimidations. "If the factor of confrontation with China is eliminated in the Asian part of the Soviet Union", the newspaper says, "the Soviet peace offensive in Europe will become even more active".

Yes, it is difficult to get accustomed to the new international climate. Nostalgia for the "good old times" of confrontation and "cold war" is bound to show up from time to time.

What is Beijing's view on this score? As noted by Yue Gun of the Beijing Institute of International Strategic Research, the obvious factors resulting from the improvement and normalisation of Chinese-Soviet relations arouse suspicion and anxiety of some people abroad. They fear lest this might upset the world's strategic balance, harm the interests and security of third states. These apprehensions, considering the weight of the two socialist giants, are understandable, the scientist holds. But they are "absolutely superfluous", if we analyse seriously the present international situation and the nature of the new Chinese-Soviet relations, he stresses.

Fear takes molehills for mountains, the old proverb says. However, if we adhere to actual reality, and this is precisely how genuine analysts should proceed, the forthcoming Beijing meeting cannot but gladden everyone who looks at the world not through the glasses of old stereotypes, but with wide open eyes.

Xinjiang Trade Delegation Visits Kirghizia

Arrives in Naryn

OW1005160489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Apr 89

[Excerpt] At the invitation of foreign trade units of the USSR's Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan, a delegation of the Kashi Foreign Trade Company has arrived in the Soviet Union for a visit. The delegation from Xinjiang arrived by car in Naryn, the economic and cultural center of Kirghizia. There is a highway linking Kashi and [words indistinct] of Kirghizia. Lately, all items of trade between the USSR's Central Asian and China's western border areas have been transported via this mountain road.

In the next few days, the Kashi delegation will visit Tashkent, Frunze, and Dushanbe, and will hold talks on further expanding border trade. This will not only benefit both sides economically, but will also improve the friendly and neighborly relations between the peoples of the two countries. [passage omitted]

Meets Kirghizia Leaders

PM1005133589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIYA in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 1

[KIRTAG report: "Delegation From China in Kirghizia"]

[Text] A delegation from the PRC's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was in Kirghizia 24-28 April. It was headed by Zhumakhun Salibayev [name as transliterated], chief of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Regional People's Government Foreign Affairs Department and chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society's Xinjiang branch.

The visitors met the leaders of a number of republic ministries and departments, familiarized themselves with the mountain region's economy and culture, and met their relatives living in our republic. They also asked about the living and working conditions for vegetable growers who arrived this year from China for the cultivation of agricultural crops in Alamedinskiy Rayon's state farm named for Kuybyshev.

The delegation members had a conversation with A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, during which the Chinese comrades were briefed in detail on socioeconomic development and the progress of restructuring in Kirghizia, and on our republic's great potential for expanding economic, trade, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation with China's border region.

The Chinese side also expressed readiness to develop by all means mutually advantageous relations with Kirghizia.

Contacts and talks between the governments of the Kirghiz SSR and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region will be continued.

Trade Between USSR, PRC Companies Viewed

OW1005114389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Apr 89

[Text] How are direct relations developing between individual Soviet and Chinese foreign trade companies? The following is a report in this regard by our station reporter (Gemiteliyev), who has recently interviewed a responsible person of the All-Union Chemicals Import and Export Complex:

On the very day that I called on Comrade (Yemelus), assistant general manager of the company, for an interview, he had just received the representatives from the foreign trade companies of Zhejiang, Heilongjiang, and Guangdong.

[(Yemelus) heard briefly in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] Comrade (Yemelus) said: Basically speaking, we deal with the China Chemicals Corporation. Of late, however, companies of various provinces in China have approached us directly and made cooperation proposals. Presently the trade volume between the All-Union Chemicals Import and Export Complex and its Chinese partners amounts to 10 million rubles. Direct relations with companies of Chinese provinces can greatly add to the volume of trade and increase the variety of import and export commodities. Our company presently purchases sodium sulfide, calcium carbide, and other products from China and sells it sodium dichromate, potassium dichromate, and chromium dioxide, which are indispensable chemicals used in tanning.

Representatives from the corporations of the three provinces of Zhejiang, Heilongjiang, and Guangdong came to Moscow to develop relations with the Soviet company. Comrade (Guo Weisheng), a representative from the Zhejiang Foreign Trade Corporation, said:

[Begin (Guo) recording] We have come to visit the Soviet Union with the aim of expanding Zhejiang's trade with the Soviet Union. Our province has a fairly large amount of trade with the USSR. As of last year, the trade volume had reached some 80 million Swiss francs, and we wish to increase the trade volume further. I think the prospects for cooperation between us are good. In the past, the trade between the two countries was conducted through the central authorities. Now, it is being conducted by provinces. The scope of cooperation is also extensive. In Sino-Soviet trade last year, the fastest growth was noted in the border trade, particularly the border trade in China's northeast and Xinjiang. Beginning this year, I think Sino-Soviet trade can spread to China's inland provinces and cities as well. In view of this, I believe that there is a very good future for our trade with the Soviet Union, and in particular, following General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to China, there is sure to be a new upsurge in this trade. [end recording]

Soviet Official Discusses Beijing Transport Fair

OW1005184289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] From 7 to 13 May an international exhibition—Communications and Transportation'89—will be held in Beijing. More than a dozen automobile producing nations, including the Soviet Union, will participate in the exhibition. Representing the Soviet Union in the exhibition is the All-Union General Bureau of Motor Transportation, a foreign trade organization under the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Motor Transportation. Our station reporter interviewed (Markov), head of the Soviet delegation.

[(Markov) heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Soviet exhibits are divided into two parts. One part publicizes the activities of the All-Union General Bureau of Motor Transportation in developing international transport. The other part introduces the products the bureau may supply to foreign buyers. On exhibition will be 18 kinds of garage and automobile repair equipment as well as models of motor repair shops for foreign customers. The bureau has built such repair shops in Cuba, Vietnam, and Afghanistan and has had some experience. We believe we will get new orders at the Beijing exhibition. Various kinds of contracts can be signed during the exhibition. For this purpose, a special trade group will visit Beijing.

Here are a few editorial comments for our listeners: Soviet participation in Communications and Transportation'89 is not limited to the exhibition. Soviet experts will also attend a seminar held in connection with the exhibition. Comrade (Shushin), RSFSR minister of motor transportion, will attend the opening of the exhibition and introduce the bureau's products to the visitors. After that, Comrade (Shushin) will hold talks with representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Communications on developing direct ties between Soviet and Chinese motor transport enterprises and establishing Soviet-Chinese joint ventures. It is expected that representatives of the two countries will also discuss the possibility of signing a treaty on international motor transportation between the Soviet and Chinese governments.

Demonstration by Chinese Journalists Reported

PM1105085189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "PRC Leadership Ready For Dialogue"]

[Text] There was a demonstration of media workers near the All-China Journalists Association [ACJA] headquarters on 9 May. Journalists from RENMIN RIBAO, GUANGMING RIBAO, and JINGJI RIBAO, the XINHUA agency, central radio and television, and others news organs participated in it.

Journalists' representatives presented the ACJA leadership with a petition bearing more than 1,000 signatures on it to pass on to the CPC Central Committee. It criticizes Chinese press coverage of the recent student actions, makes a demand for the restructuring of media activities in the spirit of the 13th CPC Congress decisions, and also expresses support for Qin Benli, former chief editor of the Shanghai paper SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO.

RENMIN RIBAO earlier reported that that he was removed from the post by a decision of the Shanghai party authorities for attempting to print in the newspaper materials "whose publication would have had an extremely unfavorable effect on the stability of the current situation."

In an interview for TASS correspondents, an ACJA spokesman said that the journalists' association, whose job is to help safeguard the rights of press workers, would hand the petition to the central party organs.

Even before the demonstration began several hundred students from Beijing higher educational establishments had gathered outside the ACJA building, expressing solidarity with the demands made in the petition. The students were chanting slogans in support of honest and objective journalism.

Northeast Asia

Japanese React to Story of Sunken U.S. H-Bomb

PM1005145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by S. Agafonov: "Megaton on Ocean Floor"]

[Text] Tokyo—The latest issue of the U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK has provoked such a strong reaction in Japan that even the question of the next prime minister, which has been the top home news item for the past two weeks, was pushed into the background for the time being. The NEWSWEEK report that there was a 1-megaton U.S. hydrogen bomb lying on the ocean floor not far from the island of Okinawa was an absolute sensation for the Japanese and for the rest of the world too. It, together with an aircraft, fell off a U.S. aircraft carrier 24 years ago (see IZVESTIYA No 129).

According to Japanese observers' calculations, the B-43 bomb contains 10 kilograms of plutonium, and if these poisonous contents were to leak the first tide would bring the radioactive ocean toward the country: It is little more than 300 kilometers to Okinawa and only 110 to Kita Daito Son island.

But it is not only this aspect of the hydrogen incident that worries the Japanese. Another, equally important problem is the question of Japan's preserving its "non-nuclear country" status. The U.S. aircraft carrier with the ill-fated aircraft and bomb on board was bound for Yokosuka and was carrying several dozen "Skyhawks" on its deck. It is doubtful whether only one of the attack aircraft was carrying a megaton load and, in fact, the U.S. fleet calling at Japanese ports had more than one ship of that kind. So, without the Japanese Government's knowledge, nuclear weapons were being brought into the country's territory—this was the essentially simple logical connection made by journalists and television commentators, projecting past events onto the current situation: U.S. warships continue to call at Japanese ports, the frequency of the calls is increasing, and the U.S. Navy has not only not abandoned nuclear weapons, but, on the contrary, has expanded its lethal arsenals, adding cruise missiles and other nuclear systems, to the bombs. The three "nonnuclear" principles proclaimed by Japan—not possessing, not producing, and not bringing nuclear weapons into its territory—are still formally in operation, but are they actually in operation?

This question has often been put to Tokyo officials, and the present issue is no exception. On 8 May the Japanese Foreign Ministry issued a special commentary on the NEWSWEEK item, noting that since the hydrogen bomb incident had occurred in the open sea the Japanese Government cannot have at its disposal detailed information about it.

Finally, the latest thing to cause anxious commentaries in Japan is the actual story of the "hydrogen incident." The Pentagon placed a cloak of secrecy on the incident, which remained intact right up to 1981, when the "Skyhawk" disaster on the Pacific Ocean was mentioned for the first time in a single line in a list of serious incidents involving nuclear weapons. The exact coordinates determining the location of the incident were not given, and if the navigational log had not now been discovered it would all have remained a "blank." But there are more than enough "blanks" in the archives of the U.S. military department. Scrupulous Japanese observers have reckoned that the U.S. Defense Department's list of nuclear incidents contains 32 items of which only 2 episodes, involving B-52 bombers in Spain in 1966 and in Greenland in 1968, had been explained prior to the NEWSWEEK article. Now we can add another—off the coast of Japan. The rest remain shrouded in secrecy and who knows how many more U.S. megatons have been "lost" around the world?

All that remains to be added is that the Institute for Policy Studies' detailed report referred to by NEWSWEEK will be published this week, but it is already apparent that the theme of the "sunken megaton" will remain at the center of attention in Japan for a long time. In fact, the investigation of the incident which took place 24 years ago in the Pacific Ocean is only just beginning.

Japanese Official on Tripartite Economic Exchange

OW1005164089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 6 May 89

[From the "Soviet Far East" program]

[Excerpt] Mr Atsuyushi Inasaki, chairman of the Japan-China Northeast Development Association, visited Khabarovsk during the latter half of April. The following are Mr Inasaki's remarks on the visit:

The Japan-China Northeast Development Association is an organization set up to promote economic exchanges with the northeast areas of China—Liaoning Province,

Jilin Province and Heilongjiang Province. For more than 4 years since its inauguration, the association has devoted itself to promoting economic exchanges with these northeast areas of China.

Lately China and the Soviet Union have been improving their bilateral political relations. As a result, economic exchanges in trade, joint ventures, etc. are making progress. We of the [word indistinct] association, taking this development as an opportunity, have drawn up a plan to dispatch an economic observation mission. The mission is scheduled to leave Narita on 6 July and to tour Dalian, Harbin and Khabarovsk, arriving back at Narita on 11 July. About 130 people are expected to participate in the mission.

Dalian is one of the centers of business activity for our association, and recently Japanese firms' investment there has been growing very rapidly. We have added Harbin and Khabarovsk to the list of places to visit this time because we feel we should observe first hand the actual status of current economic exchanges between China and the Soviet Union.

An increasing number of enterprises are now beginning to show interest in the possibility of combining Soviet natural resources, Chinese labor, and Japanese technology and managerial knowhow as a new way of achieving economic cooperation among these three nations. The dispatch of an economic observation mission in July also stems from this interest. We hope this will be an opportunity for members of the association and other mission participants from various enterprises to be able to weigh this possibility. I have come to Khabarovsk this time as a member of the association's secretariat in order to lay the groundwork for this observation mission. [passage omitted]

Japanese Foreign Ministry Official Interviewed

18070257 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 May 89 p 9

[Interview with Mr Togo, chief of the Soviet Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, by O. Prudkov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent, in Tokyo: "A Necessary Difficult Dialogue"—date of interview not given]

[Text] [Prudkov] What do you expect from the current visit of Mr. Uno, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs? What is the future outlook for our relations?

[Togo] First of all, an extended dialogue, mutual understanding, and rapprochement are necessary. This refers to various aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations. There are three. Bilateral cooperation, cooperation in the ATR [Asian-Pacific region], and cooperation in the resolution of global East-West problems. The signing of a peace treaty is a very important task in the sphere of bilateral relations. As for economics, our trade exchange has already reached almost $6 billion. Recently we signed a state agreement in the area of cultural cooperation. This year the first Japanese Week will be held in Moscow, and next year it will be repeated in other cities. An exchange of students and graduate students has been started on a state basis.

[Prudkov] The Japanese hold the resolution of the "northern territories" problem to be an indispensable condition for the signing of a peace treaty. You know our reasoning about the international legal and historical aspects of why the Kurile Islands belong to the Soviet Union. What can you say about this today, on the eve of the Moscow negotiations?

[Togo] I will say in this regard that we do not agree with your point of view, and we will try to explain to the Soviet side why our positions do not coincide. A peace treaty group is working, and the third round was conducted at the end of April. We are for an exchange of opinions, attentive and calm, which leads to a resolution of this question. We agreed in December of last year, during the visit of our minister, to write new pages in our relations. In the 4 months since then, there were many different contacts, and a serious search is being conducted for additional opportunities for the development of Japanese-Soviet cooperation. But inasmuch as very complicated questions remain, the dialogue between us is not easy. Forty-four years have elapsed since the end of the war. We have economic, cultural, scientific-technical, and consular agreements. But the main thing is still lacking. And this is not normal. We attach great significance to the signing of a peace treaty. I am inclined to be optimistic.

[Prudkov] What do you think of the organization of joint Soviet-Japanese enterprises?

[Togo] Eight such enterprises are now functioning. Japanese businessmen are for cooperation. We are not against a business approach on the basis of mutual benefit.

[Prudkov] In other words, the Japanese Government treats the activities of its businessmen with respect. If it is advantageous, let us develop it. Unfortunately, there are still just a few such joint enterprises. Moreover, there are very tangible obstacles. Let us say, the question on the sale of advanced technology. The government in certain cases can also give a negative recommendation?

[Togo] The government, of course, must set forth its position. The fact is that there is a state policy with respect to the security of the country. It concerns certain spheres of economic activity.

[Prudkov] What do you think of restructuring in the Soviet Union? Aren't you afraid that in the event of its success there will be one more center of economic power, a new competitor?

[Togo] There are many sides to restructuring. Glasnost is very important—there is more information inside the country and abroad. It is closely linked to democratization. Such elements appear to me to be very positive. And if restructuring will go in the direction of their extension, I do not see any danger. A market mechanism will be created in your economy. The trend in strengthening the elements of the market mechanism should make its contribution to the world economic process and to international integration.

[Prudkov] Very likely, you visit the Soviet Union frequently?

[Togo] I lived there four and a half years. . . I made my fourth visit in May. The changes in your country in the area of glasnost are amazing. But then with respect to economic reforms.... There are many different ideas and concepts. But it is still a long way off to concrete results.

[Prudkov] Well, here we are talking on the fortieth floor of a Tokyo hotel. We are talking, joking, and smiling. This could not have been the case in earlier times. We were divided by an invisible iron curtain. What role does the human factor play in politics?

[Togo] A definitive one. The human factor is extremely important. All difficulties were created by man, and overcoming them depends on man. If we will not be able to understand each other, and if there is no mutual trust, how can any kind of positive results be expected? This is impossible. I will say once again: the main thing is the desire to conduct a dialogue. We are seeking a basis for future decisions.

Soviet-Japanese Ties Hold 'Unrealized' Potential

PM1105110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Anichkin report: "Seek Points of Contact"]

[Text] Soviet-Japanese dialogue has become far more intensive: Our countries' foreign ministers have met three times in the last 6 months alone. At the same time, within the general picture of Soviet ties with leading Western countries, the Soviet-Japanese corner is clearly unfinished. Too much potential remains unrealized—in politics, the economy, and culture.

The idea of maintaining official contacts through informal dialogue between scientists, politicians, representatives of the business world, and social figures has taken the form of consultative meetings between representatives of the Soviet and Japanese public and scientific circles. The first such meeting was held last year in Tokyo, and the second came to a close the other day in Moscow.

The Soviet Union favors developing good-neighborly, mutually advantageous relations with Japan, founded on a balance of interests rather than a contrast of interests, V.M. Falin, head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, said at the meeting. We should not confine ourselves to contrasting opinions and interests but look for points of contact, R. Hashimoto, deputy general secretary of the ruling Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, urged in his speech.

The speeches and reports at the consultative meeting embraced virtually the entire range of complex problems relating to the rapidly changing Asia-Pacific region and the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

To what extent did this dialogue help to get closer to the truth which must be engendered in debate? One of the Japanese guests, giving me his impressions of the present exchange of opinions, said: "At the moment there is clearly more glasnost than restructuring." In Soviet-Japanese relations we have begun to discuss problems of concern to both sides more broadly and frankly and to study the experience accumulated by these two major industrial countries more closely. The present consultative meeting is part of this positive process, which, one would like to believe, will ultimately turn the Soviet Union and Japan in the direction of a new level of relations appropriate to the place and role of our countries in the world community.

Murakhovskiy Meets Batmonth in Ulaanbaatar

LD1105083689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the presidium of the People's Great Hural, received Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He has arrived in Ulaanbaatar to take part in the work of the 36th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Mongolian commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. Batmonth noted the growing interest of the working people of Mongolia in the restructuring being implemented in the Soviet Union.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Hun Sen Cited on Jakarta Talks With Sihanouk

PM1005132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Briefing in Phnom Penh"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 8 May—Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Kampuchea, has returned to the Cambodian capital after talks with Sihanouk in Jakarta and also meetings with Indonesian President Suharto and Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan in Bangkok.

Speaking at a briefing at the capital's airport, the Cambodian leader emphasized that he considered the talks with Prince Sihanouk fruitful. Hun Sen reported that they reached an accord there that the sides will not receive foreign military aid during the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia, and they also reached accord on the need to set up an international control commission. The sides reached an agreement to leave the question of forming the international control commission to be examined by an international conference, which will take place alternately in France and Indonesia and which will probably begin this August.

As for the amendments to the Constitution, which provide, in particular, for a change to the country's name and anthem, and other transformations in policies and the economy, Hun Sen said Sihanouk supported this. However, the prince advocated a multiparty system. Hun Sen pointed out that this question is within the competence of the National Assembly and will be examined at its next session. According to Sihanouk, if this wish of his is accepted, he will return to Phnom Penh after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, despite the negative response of the "Khmer Rouge." The chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers and Sihanouk decided to return to this question later and discuss it in Paris 24 July this year.

Hun Sen pointed out that in all probability the "Khmer Rouge" and Son Sann's followers will oppose these accords, but the chief thing, in his opinion, is the agreement between the Cambodian Government and Sihanouk.

Dwelling on his meetings in Indonesia and Thailand, Hun Sen reported that these countries rated highly the success of the talks with the prince. At the same time the Thai side devotes special attention to the question of a cease-fire. The Cambodian Government head also emphasized the importance of this step and advocated reaching a similar agreement before the moment of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal. In addition, the Cambodian Government is ready to consider the possibility of doing this unilaterally. Such an initiative is aimed at ceasing hostilities and preventing a civil war in Cambodia after the full withdrawal of the Vietnamese contingent, Hun Sen pointed out.

Sihanouk Appointment as Prime Minister Denied

LD1005154189 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Hanoi May 10 TASS—The "Voice of America" announcement that agreement was reached between China and Vietnam on Sihanouk's appointment to the post of Kampuchean prime minister after the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from that country is absolutely groundless. This is pointed out in a VNA denial circulated here.

Vietnam's stand of principle, the agency notes, is that all the domestic problems of Kampuchea should be resolved by the Kampuchean sides without outside interference. Vietnam welcomes ardently the results of the meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea, and Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the opposition, held at Jakarta on May 2-3. It hopes that the goodwill of the two Kampuchean sides will pave the way to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of the people of that country, in the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, the agency points out.

CPV Leaders Laud Nguyen Van Linh Moscow Talks

PM1005161389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Important Event"]

[Text] Hanoi, 9 May—The talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh, party leaders of the Soviet Union and Vietnam, marked an important event in relations between the two parties and countries, a session of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo has noted. As VNA reports, the session participants noted the sincere and useful nature of the talks.

The Politburo fully approved the content of the exchange of opinions in Moscow on international and regional problems and questions of interparty and interstate relations. The talks contributed to developing Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and all-around cooperation at a higher qualitative level and inspired the CPV and the entire Vietnamese people in their struggle to continue successfully implementing the policy of renewal advanced at the Sixth CPV Congress, the session pointed out.

Near East & South Asia

Clashes in Kabul, Jalalabad, Badakhshan, Faryab

LD1005194989 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 10 TASS—Land-to-land rockets were again fired at Kabul today. One of them killed four children of 10 to 12-years-old when they were going to school. Another two children were taken to hospital with injuries.

Afghan Interior Ministry staffers prevented a new crime by extremists by detecting and defusing a plastic explosive device and mines in a Kabul district.

On Tuesday, opposition diehards pounded with artillery and rockets residential neighborhoods of Jalalabad and security posts of government troops.

Armed clashes between militants of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan headed by Rabbani and the Islamic Party of Afghanistan led by Hikmatyar erupted with new force in Badakhshan and Faryab provinces. The clashes left six people dead and tens wounded in Badakhshan Province alone. Two women and three children also died during the shootouts.

Responding to the Afghan Government's call for a ceasefire, a 15-man group, which earlier was engaged in subversive activity, went over to the side of the authorities in Dowlatabad District, Faryab Province.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan sent another three notes to the UN Good Offices Mission which cite new facts of the violation by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements provisions.

Gaylani, an Afghan opposition leader, called in question the legality of an "interim government" set up by rebels, THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper writes. He said that it will not be legal until it is endorsed by an assembly elected by the Afghan people. He also stated that opposition groups intend to continue their attempts to seize Jalalabad.

Afghan General Denies Chemical Weapons Plans

PM1005131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Special Correspondent O. Ignatyev dispatch: "Veil of Lies"]

[Text] Kabul, 6 May—The situation in Afghanistan is becoming increasingly tense in view of the expansion of foreign interference. Furthermore, every method is being used to fuel the tension surrounding the Afghan problem.

For example, a few days ago Voice of America gave the whole world the following "information": "Representatives of the U.S. Congress have stated that there are direct signs that the Najibullah regime is preparing to use chemical weapons in the struggle against the mujahidin in the Jalalabad region. These conclusions are based on information received on the distribution of chemical protective equipment among Afghan Army units and on their preparation of chemical decontamination systems."

I got in touch with the Afghan Army General Staff and asked for a comment on this report from Major General Muhammad Ismail, deputy chief of the Operations Directorate. The general stated that the Afghan Army has never been, is not, and will not be equipped with chemical weapons. "Of course we have protective equipment against chemical weapons," he said. "But to liken the protective equipment to the weapon itself is like comparing the possession of a nuclear bunker with the possession of the nuclear bomb itself."

The question is: Who needed to spread this deliberate false "information" among the members of such a respectable legislative organ as the U.S. Congress and why? By all accounts, this disinformation is designed to play a very definite role: It is being used as cover to secure prior justification for delivering a "preventive" strike with chemical weapons against the defenders of Jalalabad. After all, the plans for a blitzkrieg against the Afghan Government after the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent have failed. The mujahidin—the "fighters for the faith"—are simply being turned into hired mercenaries. It is common knowledge that foreign advisers pay the many detachments stationed at Jalalabad in dollars for participating in the offensive.

The Pakistani military is becoming increasingly embroiled in the war. Pakistani instructors and military subunits are now fighting the Afghan Army not only at Jalalabad or Khowst. Individual Pakistani detachments are currently in the Salang region and elsewhere. It is no coincidence that the Afghan Government statement notes that Pakistan's aggressive policy "may have the most unpredictable consequences for the situation in the region."

Life in USSR Embassy in Kabul Outlined

PM1105082789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent A. Ivanko: "The Way We live. Reportage From the USSR Embassy in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul—All the Soviet citizens working in the Republic of Afghanistan have been living in a special Soviet compound for nearly 3 months now. Alone, without women and children, they are organizing their lives. Something rarely seen in any part of our country—a man lugging a sewing machine about under his arm—is an everyday sight. You hear things like: "Lend me some mayonnaise"; "Do you still need a cookbook?" and "Tell me, how much salt do you put in when you make pancakes?"

But to be serious, cooking is not the main problem of life on this small patch of Soviet soil. Around 250 of our people are working in Afghanistan: embassy and trade mission staff, representatives of Aeroflot, a small body of journalists (9 writers and 2 technicians at the moment), and a group of doctors. They are working in difficult conditions, under great pressure. Work in Afghanistan at the moment is probably not the most dangerous in the world, but, as the shell which landed on the embassy premises in April demonstrated, neither is it by any means the most restful.

Security measures. Outside, the embassy is guarded by a subunit of the Afghan tsarandoy (people's militia)—young men, volunteers mainly. I got acquainted with one of them. He was called Zalmay; his parents were traders. After school he joined the service. I asked him what he

thought about being at this particular post. He answered with a smile: "I am guarding myself and, by protecting myself, I am protecting Soviet citizens as well."

There is also an embassy security service made up of duty officers. They check on people coming in. There are signaling facilities. For security reasons we are all advised not to travel into the city alone or to leave cars there unattended. When we leave the embassy we can take a radio—for emergencies. It is a powerful, Japanese-made transmitter.

One of the main problems for Soviet citizens on the streets of Kabul is the traffic regulations, or, rather, the total absence of them in practice. Rarely does a car stop at a red light, and double passing by oncoming traffic is a common phenomenon. The result is that in the past 3 days there have been three traffic accidents involving vehicles from Soviet institutions, and one trade mission employee ended up in the hospital. It is a blessing that there is a hospital. It is equipped with the last word in technology and there are two teams of doctors working there—or, rather, ready for work. There are very few patients.

The nerve center of the compound is the embassy.

"Our functions in Afghanistan are the same as in any other country," counselor F. Sidorskiy said. "But since we are working in a friendly state, relations are closer than in many others. We have contacts with foreign diplomats based in Kabul, although, because of the complex situation, the diplomatic corps has been substantially reduced. Ten embassies have evacuated their staff.

"Now every diplomat's workload is two or three time as large. An embassy staffer used to deal with a narrow, specialized area; now he deals with an entire range. Cadres are skilled and all know the local language."

Life is still hectic, albeit not, perhaps, on the same scale as before. Both Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, and R.I. Kuprevich, USSR trade representative, are in constant contact with state figures in Afghanistan and foreign diplomats, and they give interviews not only to us but to our Western colleagues as well.

...But let us descend from the political heights and look again at everyday life. A few words about our dining room. It provides lunches five times a week. Some of the food is left over from the "limited contingent," some is imported from the USSR, while vegetables and fruit are bought in local bazaars.

The Soviet compound is completely autonomous. It has its own well, from which water is piped, and it has a movie theater, library, and billiard hall. The pool has been filled with water and people have started swimming in the mornings.

There are traders' stalls opposite the embassy. Taking advantage of the fact that not everyone can get to the "green" bazaar, the traders are getting rich on our custom: They are always raising their prices. Some goods are 50 percent dearer than elsewhere in the city. But people still go there.

The spring colors are gradually passing into summer colors. The smell of mown grass is just like at home, but when you look outside an endless wall of mountains meets your gaze. The summer heat is yet to come, and the uncertain situation in the country has made everyone tense. But the people get on with their work, used now to the rocket attacks.

That is the way we live now...

Need for Afghan Settlement Stressed

PM1005124989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Afghan Knot"]

[Text] They say that it is a long time since there has been such a changeable spring as this year's spring in Afghanistan. At times, as it should be at this time of the year, the sun is hot. But more often a cold wind blows, the sky is covered with leaden clouds, and torrential rain falls on Kabul. There is still snow in the mountains, which is the source of the cold. The situation in the country matches the weather. Information that the government forces have successfully stopped another sortie by the armed opposition alternates with reports of fresh attacks by the rebels, fresh shellings of cities, fresh tragedies...

Since the withdrawal of Soviet forces, many people in our country have been concerned about how the military-political situation in Afghanistan will develop further and in whose favor the scales are now tipping. And now that I have returned from a trip to Afghanistan, I too am looking for an answer to these questions. I think that one needs to begin with the military aspect of the situation. Let me remind you that, in creating a "transitional government" in Pakistan, the opposition loudly proclaimed that its aim was to seize power in the country in a few days. And everything possible was done for this. In order to shift the balance of power, hundreds of bandit formations [bandformirovaniya] were sent onto Afghan soil. They were mainly made up of those who had undergone special military training. They were armed with surface-to-air missile complexes, hundreds of units of artillery and mortar systems, antitank weapons, and heavy small arms. Since almost the first day, Pakistani commandos and artillery have been participating in the siege of Jalalabad. As is known, now they intend to throw 15,000 militia—servicemen of the tribal formations—into the next attack on the city.

The armed opposition set the capture of Jalalabad as its next task. For this purpose it massed more than 30,000 rebels, who were even supported by armor. It was proposed to site the self-styled transitional government precisely in this city. Particular hopes were pinned on the Jalalabad airport.

But, once the rebels had broken through into the city's suburbs, they were unable to advance further. And so fierce fighting has been going on there for 2 months. A few days ago a fresh offensive by the opposition formations began; things are not easy for the city's defenders. But it is already clear now that the rebels' "blitzkrieg" has been wrecked. Judging by everything, the combat operations at Khowst are less intensive, but the situation there, too, is approximately the same: The bandit formations cannot achieve any decisive success.

On the contrary, in this extremely complex situation the government forces succeeded in gaining two significant victories. Operations were mounted to clear the highways from Kabul to Jalalabad and from Kabul to Hayratan. This made it possible in the first instance to escort convoys of ammunition and food to Jalalabad's defenders. And in the second instance the link between the country's central regions and the USSR was restored.

Recent events have shown that the Afghan Army and the reserves are being led skillfully and that modern military equipment at the disposal of the Republic's Armed Forces is being utilized effectively. Rocket strikes at rebel positions played a particular role here, as did the selfless actions of the military pilots flying six or seven combat missions every day.

It cannot be said that the opposition's military leaders did not prepare for the military operations. They began creating military formations on the army model. Moreover, foreign instructors tried to teach the rebels to fight according to U.S. field service regulations. But events showed that organizing an ambush in the mountains is one thing, while storming a major city is something quite different. Moreover, the united military command clearly exists in name only. Numerous instances are known in which mujahidin commanders have ignored orders from Peshawar to send subunits near Jalalabad. And even when they are there, whole formations leave the battlefield on the pretext, for example, of burying the dead.

Of course, something that is very difficult to describe—combat morale—is very significant for the Afghan Army in this situation. I talked with soldiers and junior officers who had just driven away the dushman from the Salang Pass. These people had been tested under fire and were ready to carry on fighting. I saw several division commanders who had led the relief of individual guardposts on the pass, at work. They acted decisively and efficiently, not only making correct decisions, but also implementing them rigorously. A similar opinion is held by the author of an article in West Germany's FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, who stressed that the government forces are demonstrating fine skill and steadfastness.

The reader may wonder: Is it worth devoting so much attention to military problems at a time when the Afghan Government, wholly supported by the Soviet Union, is striving for political dialogue and conducting the policy of national reconciliation with this aim? Yes, President Najibullah has repeatedly put forward the idea of a coalition government with the opposition's participation. And this policy is bearing certain fruit: Ideas of stopping the bloodshed are close to many "field commanders" participating directly in the combat operations. And some of them are making contact with the government.

But let us face up to the truth: The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" had immense difficulty sharing the ministerial portfolios of a nonexistent government even among themselves. And sharing power with the enemy has no part in their plans at all. They are still dreaming of gaining victory by military means. Under these conditions Najibullah and his comrades have no way of achieving national reconciliation except by organizing effective defense. This is the dialectic of the military-political situation in Afghanistan.

Of course, the situation would have been fundamentally different if not for the foreign military interference in Afghanistan's affairs. Moreover, as a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, this interference is on such a scale that it is possible to talk about an Afghan-Pakistani war. In precisely the same way as rebel formations are trying to block the route along which Kabul gets its flour, so certain Pakistani and U.S. circles are trying to block the implementation of the Geneva agreements, that real path to peace in Afghanistan. By their obstructionist actions they are hampering discussion of the Afghan problem in the UN Security Council.

And this is no accident. In Washington those who dream of seeing the victory of the notorious doctrine of neoglobalism in practice are by no means calming down. It appears that the Pakistani special services are being used precisely for these purposes. In payment, so to speak, for U.S. military and other aid to Islamabad, according to a report in the Indian magazine BLITZ, their leadership has concluded a secret agreement with the "transitional government" of the Afghan armed opposition concerning the placing of some Afghan territory at the disposal of the U.S. Central Command—of course, in the event that the "diehards" succeed in seizing power.

This, in particular, explains the growing scale of U.S. military deliveries to the rebels. Compared to last year, they have increased several times over. And the United States does not intend to give up this approach. Moreover, as THE NEW YORK TIMES testifies, the

National Security Council policy development coordination committee has recommended that the U.S. Administration refrain from talks with the Soviet Union regarding a political settlement in Afghanistan. Even earlier the Bush administration adopted a decision to continue military aid to the armed Afghan opposition "so long as the present government is in power in Kabul."

All the same, the coordination committee expressed deep disappointment... but not because a year after the signing of the Geneva agreements blood is flowing in Afghanistan through the fault of the United States. But because the opposition has still not been able to achieve decisive success. Washington is comforting itself with the thought that "the rebels need more time to prove themselves on the battlefield."

Now highly eloquent admissions are being made even in the U.S. mass media, which is far from sympathetic to Democratic Afghanistan. "Many people in Afghanistan," a CBS Television correspondent noted in a report from Kabul, "lay the blame for the continuing carnage on the United States. In the bazaar squares and in the mosques people are asking why the United States continues to deliver weapons to the mujahidin so that they can wage war." Prominent U.S. experts are expressing the idea that Washington's present policy does not take into account the realities, and its implementation means the death of peaceful inhabitants.

It is no secret that Pakistan has been and remains the springboard of interference. Moreover, the Pakistani intelligence service and the military department have essentially turned into "states within a state." If they are accountable to anyone for their subversive actions against Afghanistan, then it is to Washington, which is lavish with its funds. But, as a number of commentators in Afghanistan, including Western ones, admit, in Islamabad time is working against those who are gambling on continued bloodshed. This is also reflected in the political situation in Pakistan. According to THE TIMES OF INDIA, the failures of the mujahidin and the Pakistani militia near Jalalabad have exacerbated the conflict between the government and the military. "According to information from well-informed persons," another Indian newspaper, THE TELEGRAPH, indicates, "Prime Minister B. Bhutto constantly runs into opposition from the intelligence service and the army." Many experts believe that if Jalalabad and the other major cities are not occupied by the rebels, then the actions of those diehards who advocate continuing the war in Afghanistan "to the last Afghan" will decline both in Islamabad and in Washington. And at the same time the voices of those calling for assistance in the search for political solutions will be heard.

It is not only the Afghan people and the other peoples of the region who are interested in these solutions. These solutions have great significance for the whole of mankind. The development of the situation in Afghanistan is, if you like, the touchstone on which the world community is testing its abilities to settle a regional conflict in a civilized fashion. Essentially, the Geneva agreements represented a model for future agreements in which the sides' interests must be taken into account and their strict observance guaranteed. And if by their obstruction Washington and Islamabad manage to turn these agreements into a worthless piece of paper, this will be a blow to the prestige of the United Nations, under whose aegis the talks took place in Geneva. The supporters of strong-arm solutions will receive trump cards once more. This cannot be permitted. The Afghan knot must be unraveled by peaceful means at the negotiating table.

Pakistani Opposes Military Aid to Afghan Rebels

PM1005142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA and APN special correspondents O. Ignatyev and R. Budrin: "Afghanistan: To Stop Interference. Pakistani Politician's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Kabul, 9 May—Abdul Wali Khan recently sent a message to the leaders of the USSR, the United States, and India and to the UN secretary general asking them to promote the speediest cease-fire in Afghanistan. The reply from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was published in PRAVDA on 21 April this year.

Abdul Wali Khan is a well-known Pakistani politician, a member of the Pakistani Parliament, president of Pakistan's Awami National Party, and leader of the group of Pushtun tribes living in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province.

While visiting Kabul at the invitation of the Afghan leadership, Abdul Wali Khan met yesterday with a group of Soviet journalists and answered their questions connected with a political settlement in Afghanistan.

Abdul Wali Khan drew special attention to the growing tension in Afghan-Pakistani relations caused by the escalation of Pakistan's armed interference in Afghanistan. If our generals are permitted to continue the military adventure on the territory of independent, sovereign Afghanistan, he said, this could threaten Pakistan itself with combat operations, and the border regions, where Pushtun tribes and Afghan refugees live, will suffer above all. Our whole region is in danger.

The Pakistani politician noted with regret that "the extremist views of Islamic fundamentalists have become dangerously widespread in Pakistan today. The Jamiyat-e Eslami party, for example, has stated the need to 'rectify Islam in Afghanistan, turning it into a bridgehead for the further northward spread of Islam.'"

Answering a question as to whether, in his opinion, the Pakistani generals will undertake a large-scale armed invasion of Afghanistan, Abdul Wali Khan replied: "It is hard to predict, although, if this does happen, they will be committing a most dangerous and foolish action."

After the extremists were taught a good lesson at Jalalabad, Abdul Wali Khan pointed out, many people in the West began taking a somewhat different attitude to the present regime in Kabul and to the aid the West is giving the intransigent Afghan opposition. The inhuman nature of the continuing U.S., Pakistani, and Saudi Arabian military support for the Afghan extremists is obvious. Take, for example, the rockets they use to shell Afghan cities, destroy them, and kill the civilian population.

I am a Pushtun. And I am not indifferent to the fate of that section of my people living in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has proved in Geneva and since then that it advocates a political solution to the complex Afghan problem. Pakistan and the United States must stop their interference. Then conditions will be created under which national reconciliation will be possible and Afghans will stop killing Afghans.

Rogachev Meets Indian Foreign Ministry Official

PM1105084389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Indian consultations on topical questions concerning the situation in Asia and the Pacific, conducted by G.V. Kireyev, chief of a USSR Foreign Ministry administration, and V.K. Nambiar, head of department at the Indian Foreign Ministry, were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 5-6 May.

V.K. Nambiar was received by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister. T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Soviet-Egyptian Economic Talks Open 10 May

Trade Ministers Preview Talks

LD1005132389 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Cairo, May 10 TASS—The first session of the joint Soviet-Egyptian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation opens here today.

The decision to set up the commission was taken during talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Egyptian counterpart 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid in Moscow last May.

A Soviet delegation led by Konstantin Katushev, minister of Soviet foreign economic relations, arrive in Cairo today. The Egyptian side is being led by Yusri 'Ali Mustafa, minister of economy and foreign trade.

The upcoming talks will focus on the future of Soviet-Egyptian trade, economic and scientific cooperation.

The sides will discuss the feasibility of Soviet participation in Egyptian development projects, ways of expanding bilateral trade, and new spheres of trade, economic and scientific contacts. Yusri Mustafa described the first session of the commission as a turning point in Soviet-Egyptian economic relations.

"We are aiming to expand this cooperation to its past level," he told TASS.

"We hope the commission [words indistinct] eliminate the remaining difficulties that impede the [word indistinct] of our bilateral relations," the minister said.

The first session of the commission is a remarkable event in relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt, Konstantin Katushev said on his arrival in Egypt.

"We hope this meeting will mark the beginning of systematic exchanges of opinion on the progress of our cooperation in trade and economic spheres, a cooperation that has a rich history," he said.

"A basis has been laid for expanding Soviet-Egyptian relations. The development of economic contacts will be a good supplement to our warm relations in the political and other spheres of human relations," he said.

Trade Ministers Begin Meetings

LD1005210689 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Cairo May 11 TASS—The joint Soviet-Egyptian intergovernmental commission for economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation opened its first meeting in the Egyptian capital Wednesday.

The commission was set up after the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Egyptian counterpart Ahmad Ismat 'Abd al-Majid in Moscow last May.

The Soviet delegation to the meeting is led by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, and the Egyptian delegation by Economy and Foreign Trade Minister Yusri 'Ali Mustafa.

During the talks the sides will discuss prospects for bilateral cooperation in the economic, commercial and scientific areas.

They will determine possibilities of the Soviet Union's participation in the fulfillment of Egyptian economic development projects, ways to broaden trade between the two countries and new areas for mutually advantageous commercial, economic and scientific contacts.

Mustafa said at the opening ceremony that Egypt is watching changes in the Soviet Union, brought about by the perestroyka policy, with keen interest.

He said that "We wish success to this process which is to strengthen the Soviet economy and enhance the living standards of the friendly Soviet people".

The minister expressed hope that results of this policy will have a beneficial effect on Soviet-Egyptian cooperation.

Mustafa said the bilateral relations in the commercial, economic and other areas have seen much progres in the past few years. Agreements and protocols signed by the two countries not only reflected the growth in bilateral trade and the extension of the lists of mutually exported goods, but also revealed new possibilities for developing cooperation in trade.

The minister confirmed the readiness of the Egyptian side to considerably increase exports to the Soviet Union and expressed the wish that the list of imports from the USSR be extended to meet the requirements of the Egyptian market.

"The growth in the scale of economic, commercial, scientific and technological ties between the Soviet Union and Egypt will promote the development of friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries," Mustafa said.

Katushev said that the establishment of the Soviet-Egyptian commission reflected requirements of the current stage in the development of bilateral relations and showed the big importance the governments and the political leadership of both countries attach to the expansion of trade and restoration of large-scale technological and economic cooperation.

"This new working mechanism will make an important contribution to the development of bilateral economic ties," he said. "Egypt is a longstanding and respected business partner of the Soviet Union. We are glad to see the profound interest of both countries in developing trade and economic, scientific and technological cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit, equality and respect for one another's interests."

Katushev said that the development of economic ties is a solid foundation for strengthening all aspects of interstate relations and friendly ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Egypt.

Israel Continues SDI 'Flirtation' With U.S.

PM1005121989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Vinogradov under the rubric "History: Dates and Reflection": "The Space 'Flirtation' Continues"]

[Text] When then Israeli Defense Minister Y. Rabin made one of his trips across the Atlantic, to the United States, 3 years ago, in May 1986, many observers did not attach special significance to the trip. But its results made them immediately change their assessment. During his stay in the U.S. capital the Israeli military department head signed an agreement whereby Tel Aviv became involved in the U.S. "star wars" program. Thus Israel became the third U.S. ally, after Britain and the FRG, to officially agree to participate in the implementation of the notorious U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative."

So the multifaceted military cooperation between the United States and Israel, directed against the Arab peoples, acquired a new sphere—space. By the end of 1988 Israel was the major foreign participant in SDI. This was stated by a man whose authority is beyond doubt. Namely, Lieutenant General J. Abrahamson, who for a long time was head of the organization to implement the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The U.S. general had every reason for saying this. Israel's leading scientific centers had been placed at the U.S. side's disposal. Within the framework of signed contracts, the various Israeli institutes and research laboratories involved in work on elements of SDI have already received around $200 million.

It must be recognized, however, that it was not only the prospect of lucrative orders that attracted Tel Aviv to participate in the U.S. "star wars" program. The Israeli leadership is clearly counting on substantially increasing its country's military potential through participation. At this point I must cite the Israeli newspaper YEDI'OT AHARONOT, which candidly wrote: "What intrests us is the utilization of SDI equipment and technology in relation to our defense needs, mainly to knock out missiles based in Syria." One such program was the development of the Arrow interceptor-missile, which has the main role in Israel's defense system against enemy tactical missiles. The agreement on Arrow ABM defense was signed between the United States and Israel at the very beginning of 1988, and yet another U.S.-Israeli agreement was concluded at the end of that year. It envisages not only the development but also the testing of individual elements of space-based antimissile weapons in the Near East area.

Active involvement in the "Strategic Defense Initiative" and access to the relevant information have enabled Israel to accelerate work on its own launchers. The

United States helped Israel not only to finance work on the creation of the Shavit rocket, but also to manufacture several units for the rocket and a number of its fuel components.

The Shavit was tested in the Mediterranean in May 1988. During the trial the rocket, which has a range of up to 900 nautical miles and can be equipped with a nuclear warhead, was tested for reliability and also for the ability to put an artificial satellite into orbit. To all appearances the test results were successful, because in September of that year the rocket had already placed Israel's first artificial earth satellite, Ofeq-1, in low near-earth orbit.

According to Israeli military circles, the London paper THE SUNDAY TIMES writes, the main task facing the satellite, which has been launched for 1 month, is to gather intelligence data on the Arab countries. And it is able to do this in a vast area from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. If necessary, at the end of the month, Israel can launch another or even several more similar satellites, prepared in advance.

The continuing U.S.-Israeli space "flirtation" introduces a new and highly dangerous element into the Near East situation. Indeed, the very fact that Israel has satellites keeping watch on military facilities in the region gives it an appreciable advantage over the Arab countries. And it should be borne in mind that active work is being done in Israel to create powerful new missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads. That is, Tel Aviv is creating a potential for a first strike against any country within range of these missiles.

Finally, there is no doubt that the space "flirtation" between Washington and Tel Aviv could lead to the Near East countries' being drawn into a space arms race. Incidentally, there have already been reports that talks are being conducted in Arab capitals about creating their "own space project" to counterbalance Israel's Ofeq. If implementation of this gets underway it will signify the start of a space race in the Near East which would be bound to have an adverse effect on the overall situation in this already explosive region.

U.S., Israel 'Delaying' Mideast Settlement

PM0805094989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Kiselev: "Near East: Preconditions for Settlement"]

[Text] The ideas and principles of the new political thinking are blazing a trail to the Near East. The logic of the normalization of the overall situation in the world, which has become possible thanks to the Soviet leadership's qualitatively new approaches to the solution of international problems on the basis of the balance of interests and not the balance of forces is placing on the agenda the question of the need to also stabilize the situation in this part of the world, which has often in the past attracted world public attention by military eruptions. Thanks to the new political thinking, a real opportunity has arisen for the first time to end an ugly and dangerous phenomenon of international life—that is, regional conflicts, including the Near East conflict, which is a kind of old-timer among all the other postwar conflicts. It should be noted that in the past few months the situation in this region has undergone a number of important changes which have created the necessary prerequisites for the speediest all-embracing peaceful and fair settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict. What has happened?

Against the background of the peaceful uprising of the Palestinian population of the Gaza Strip and the Jordan River's West Bank, which are occupied by Israel, the PLO launched a dynamic political offensive in late 1988. The independent sovereign state of Palestine was proclaimed and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat became its president. The PLO leadership recognized UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for a Near East settlement and denounced terrorism (which is not the same as renouncing armed means of struggle against continuing Israeli aggression), and, finally, Israel was recognized by the PLO as a sovereign state with corresponding rights. In other words, the Palestinians, seizing the initiative, took the seats assigned them in "the train of a Near East settlement" and signaled their readiness to move.

The PLO's constructive actions have led to the formation of a situation in which all sides whose interests are directly or indirectly affected by the conflict have been faced with the need to define their attitude toward the problems of a settlement in the Near East and to adopt a specific stance. The Arab countries unanimously supported the Palestinians' enterprising steps. The leading West European states welcomed the PLO decisions, which have led to positive changes in the regional situation.

As for the Soviet Union, its stance has been and remains principled: Israel must withdraw its troops from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including East (Arab) Jerusalem; the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be satisfied, primarily their right to self determination and to the creation of an Arab Palestinian state on part of the territory of the former mandated Palestine; and all states of the region must be guaranteed the right to secure existence within recognized borders and to independent development.

Considering the favorable situation that has taken shape, the USSR has come out with proposals the aim of which is to achieve a just Near East settlement as soon as possible. Their thrust is to use collective efforts to effect a resolute breakthrough in the course of development of events in the region. Otherwise, unless the cause of achieving peace in the Near East is advanced from a standstill, we cannot rule out new military complications

that will result in dangerous destabilization of the situation in the region. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the region has essentially become a depot for the most sophisticated weapons. The excessively protracted Arab-Israeli conflict is encouraging the arms race in the Near East and its quantitative and qualitative buildup. We must also consider the fact that the conflict could potentially jeopardize the life-asserting normalization processes underway in Europe and Asia.

The convening of an international peace conference on the Near East is the main path for the speediest all-embracing Near East settlement and the establishment of long-term peace in the region. The USSR believes that the idea of a conference can and must be implemented through the efforts of the world community. And that means that our country is not seeking any exclusive role for itself in the settlement process and is not seeking any advantage for itself. The USSR proposes to make full use of the peacemaking potential of the United Nations and primarily to set in motion the Security Council mechanism.

The United States, in contrast with the Soviet Union, has always sought to dominate both in the affairs of a region which it defines as a zone of its "vitally important interests," and in the process of a settlement. The U.S. administrations' attempts to impose their will on the Arabs have had no success but have caused substantial harm to the settlement process because they have diverted it from a settlement, thus encouraging the dangerous protraction of the conflict. Here the United States has strenuously pushed through the thesis that peace in the Near East must be approached "gradually," "without haste," and "step-by-step." Faced with the problem of working out an answer to the PLO's actions, the R. Reagan administration, before leaving the White House, took a crucial step which could have substantially facilitated the search for paths to peace between Israel and its Arab neighbor. In December 1988 U.S.-Palestinian dialogue began, but even then its fate depended on the administration of the newly elected President G. Bush.

What do President G. Bush and the new U.S. Secretary of State, J. Baker, intend to do about the Near East? Three visits to Washington—by Egyptian President H. Mubarak, Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir, and King Husayn of Jordan—were to greatly elucidate this question.

The main result of all three visits, it seems to me, is that the United States has no intention of taking active steps and is gambling on the pernicious "unhurried" movement toward peace in the region. According to one high-ranking figure in the new administration, Washington's plan consists of organizing gradual talks, beginning with "confidence-building measures" between the sides, for instance with Israel's liberation of Arab political prisoners. The next step would be to hold elections to local organs of power on the occupied territories, possibly under international observation, on the basis of which the Palestinians would be granted "temporary status." This in turn would be followed by granting them "permanent status" on the territories Israel has occupied since the June 1967 aggression. Here the United States is continuing to oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state. It looks as though Washington has no intention of abandoning the idea of its "special" role in the Near East, and for the umpteenth time is embarking on prolongation of the settlement process.

For Israel, the United States' "strategic ally" in the Near East, U.S.-Palestinian dialogue is a very important political signal. All attempts to wreck it have so far been to no avail, although Tel Aviv is not abandoning its efforts in this direction. But something that has long been obvious to everyone else has finally become clear even to the Israeli Government—preservation of the status quo in the region is impossible. Moreover, the desire to preserve it could lead to a very great moral-political crisis in Israel itself. The conviction is growing in Israeli society that the conflict with the Arabs has no military solution and that an active search for a political solution is necessary. A public opinion poll by the "World Today" organization has shown that two-thirds of Israelis are in favor of talks with the PLO.

And despite everything, official Tel Aviv is continuing to adhere to the pernicious policy of the "three nos": no to the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories; no to talks with the PLO (although President Y. 'Arafat asserts that PLO "dialogue" with Israel is already underway with the Americans' mediation); and no to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The idea of an international conference is also rejected. But what is proposed? On arriving in Washington Y. Shamir put forward his "peace plan," which provides for elections on the occupied territories. His aim is to "seek" under the barrels of Israeli submachine guns "partners" for concluding an agreement on "provisional autonomy" that would ensure "self rule" for the Palestinians and preserve untouched Israeli control of Palestinian territories.

It is highly indicative that even this blatantly limited "plan" gave rise to grave reservations in the government from representatives of "Likud," whose leader is... Y. Shamir. Thus, for instance, Transportation Minister M. Qatzav (Likud), stated that the very holding of elections is tantamount to... indirect talks with the PLO. "Woe betide us if we have any contacts—direct or indirect—with the PLO, since we will thus be legitimizing that organization's demands." If we are speaking of the true intentions of Y. Shamir and his supporters, they are aimed at ending the uprising, gaining time, and neutralizing the PLO's political successes.

The steps taken by the United States and Israel are aimed not at accelerating but at delaying the settlement process. The shortsightedness of this position is obvious,

because it is in direct contradiction to objective reality. But there is no doubt that despite the opposition from Washington and Tel Aviv, the new political thinking will sooner or later assert itself in the Near East.

That is the requirement of the times.

Shevardnadze Envoy Discusses Mideast Issues

JN1105084489 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 5 May 89 p 16

[By Sana' al-Sa'id]

[Text] The Middle East issue will be at the top of the Baker-Shevardnadze meeting in Moscow 10-11 May. The meeting will discuss the idea of the international conference, which the Soviet Union has adopted as the optimal solution to the region's problem. For his comments on Shamir's proposals and the security of the Red Sea, AL-MUSAWWAR met with Gennadiy Tarasov, Shevardnadze's envoy, before leaving Cairo last week after handing a message to Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid and holding talks with Egyptian officials.

On his visit to Cairo, Tarasov said it was useful and showed identity of views between Egypt and the Soviet Union concerning a settlement in the region. He described Shamir's proposals on holding elections in the occupied territories as general ideas that lack clarity. They left many pending questions unanswered, he said. These questions include: How will these elections be conducted? What body will supervise them? Who will allow this body to supervise the elections? What link do these elections have to a comprehensive settlement that will bring peace to the region? What will be the role of the international conference and the PLO? And, what kind of peace is Shamir talking about? Before assessing or accepting elections, Tarasov said, we must know where they lead.

On the possibility of convening the international conference, he said circumstances are appropriate to prepare for this conference. The international climate regarding the achievement of a settlement is now more mature, he said. He added: There is also the intifadah and its implications on the region's events, the new PLO realism as reflected in the resolutions of the Palestine National Council and 'Arafat's moves, and the eagerness of the world community to avoid leaving the region as a focal point of high tension. What supports the convening of the international conference, he added, is that all parties back it, including the United States, which officially announced that it is not against it being convened at the appropriate time. He pointed out that Israel is the only party that rejects and opposes the conference.

Tarasov said the Soviet Union still insists that the beginning of the international conference will signal the beginning of the resumption of the Soviet-Israeli relations. Tarasov praised the EC position, describing it as serious, encouraging, and positive. On Red Sea security, Tarasov said this is an important issue in view of the region's sensitivity and the grave consequences that any confrontation therein may cause. We are discussing this issue with the United States and other concerned states, he said. He called for adopting Gorbachev's proposal on reducing military capabilities in the region. He said: We are ready to withdraw if the United States agrees to withdraw its warships from the Mediterranean.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Lizichev Meets Congo's President; Goes to Algiers

PM1105103789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Arrival in Algeria"; for further reportage on Lizichev's visit to the Congo, see the 9 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 38]

[Text] Brazzaville, 8 May—Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, who is on a working visit here, has been received by Congolese President D. Sassou-Nguesso.

During the visit the Soviet military chief held talks with Colonel N. Dabera, chief of the Congolese People's National Army General Political Directorate, and Colonel J. Mokoko, chief of the Congolese People's National Army General Staff, and met with Congolese servicemen.

Algiers, 8 May—Army Gen A.D. Lizichev has arrived on an official visit to Algeria.

CPSU Delegation Arrives in Tanzania 9 May

PM1005145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Arrival of Delegation"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by R.Kh. Khabibullin, first secretary of the Bashkir CPSU Oblast Committee, arrived in Dar es Salaam from Moscow on 9 May at the invitation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania.

R. Botha Voices Pretoria's Adherence to 'Threats'

PM0905094189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Republic of South Africa Threatens Neighbors"]

[Text] Harare, 5 May—In Capetown on Thursday Republic of South Africa [RSA] Foreign Minister Roelof Botha issued threats to use force against Botswana and Zimbabwe.

The SAPA agency reports that R. Botha stated that Pretoria may "resort to the necessary actions to safeguard the security of its borders."

The pretext for this statement was the mortar shelling the previous day of the South African Army's Klip Pan radar station in the region of Mafeking City, 250 km southwest of Johannesburg. According to a report by a spokesman for the RSA defense forces, early on Wednesday morning six mortar bombs were fired at the station, damaging barracks on its territory.

R. Botha's statement was new evidence of the Pretoria regime's adherence to the tactic of blackmail and threats against neighboring countries of the region. Instead of eliminating apartheid and renouncing the gamble on violence, the racist authorities are trying to blame these countries for the RSA's domestic problems caused by the existence of the system of racial segregation. In October 1988 in George City RSA Defense Minister Magnus Malan made attacks on Botswana and Zimbabwe, openly stating that the South African Army might attack those states. In the same month Adriaan Vlok, RSA minister of law and order, made similar threats against the Botswana government, claiming that Botswana's territory is serving as a bridgehead for penetrating into South Africa for the armed groups of certain "terrorists," as Pretoria calls the African National Congress patriots.

Commentary on Ethiopia Expanding Neighborly Ties
EA0705082689 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 05 May 89

[Text] At present, relations between Ethiopia and the Arab countries are expanding. Our commentator notes:

Ethiopia's geographical location has linked it historically and culturally with the Arab world for a long time. However, these relations have been different at various times. Ethiopia has had fruitful relations with some Arab countries. With others, its relations have been full of suspense and have been carefully watched. Ethiopia is a country faithful to the principles of the Nonaligned Movement. It pursues a policy of peaceful foreign relations and has therefore been making efforts to create a healthy atmosphere in the Horn of Africa, and the surrounding region, by strengthening good-neighborly relations. Consequently, its relations with Somalia and Sudan have improved and those with other governments in the region have expanded.

The Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, has visited Cairo and Damascus and representatives of many Arab countries have visited Addis Ababa. There is a history of long-standing and good relations between Ethiopia and South Yemen. Its economic cooperation with North Yemen and Egypt has been expanding. A delegation led by Kasa Kabede, member of the WPE Central Committee has recently concluded a visit to Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The Syrian president, Hafiz Asad and the Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn, received and held talks with the delegation. Earlier, Ethiopia and Iraq had agreed to reestablish their diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

It was clear to everyone that the positions of Ethiopia and certain Arab countries on the Eritrean problem were completely different. Some of the Arab countries consider Eritrea to be part of the Arab world. At present a trend towards farsightedness and objectivity can be seen with regard to the Eritrean issue. These Arab countries, including Syria and Iraq, have opposed the attempts being made to destabilize Ethiopia and they support the preservation of the country's national independence and territorial integrity.

The results of good will and rapprochement have become more visible than ever. Iraq and Syria have supported the efforts being made by the Ethiopian Government to attain a political solution to the Eritrean issue. They have also decided to support Eritrean refugees who wish to return to their homeland. The expansion of relations between Ethiopia and the Arab countries is making a significant contribution towards the strengthening of peace in the region, our correspondent concluded.

CPSU Congratulates Madagascar Party Leader
PM0905102389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message to Madagascar party leader]

[Text] To Comrade Giselle Rabesahala, secretary general of the Congress Party for Malagasy Independence

Esteemed Comrade Giselle Rabesahala!

We cordially congratulate you, a prominent figure of the African national liberation movement and tireless fighter for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Madagascar, on your jubilee.

We wish you good health and success in your work.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

East Europe

Yazov Departs for Official Visit to Prague
PM1105103389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow for Prague 10 May on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense.

He was seen off at the airport by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; A.N. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation; Army General M.A. Moiseyev,

chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev and Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense ministers; and other officials.

Among the send-off party were J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, and Major General J. Mrazek, military and air attache at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR.

MSZMP Plenum Held 8 May; Kadar Retires

PM1005174589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gerasimov: "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Plenum Held"]

[Text] Budapest, 9 May—A National Party Conference will be held this fall. This was decided at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee Plenum on 8 May. A number of party organizations have been insisting of late that an extraordinary congress be called, but the plenum considered that in principle there was no need for this. The conference will draft the MSZMP election program.

The plenum discussed the draft new law on parties. It is to be harmonized with the new constitution that will be adopted. The plenum considers that the constitutional court will check the conformity of party programs to the fundamental law of the state and register and monitor the activity of parties on that basis.

The question of the date of the elections to the Hungarian State Assembly and local councils and of the republic's president was broached during discussion of party domestic policy at the plenum. Consultations on this issue will take place within the MSZMP and with other parties. The plenum participants passed a resolution on the workers militia. This voluntary organization has a membership of 60,000. It will now be subordinate to the Hungarian Council of Ministers rather than the MSZMP. Plenum participants welcomed the setting up of the Hungarian Democratic Youth League to replace the Communist Youth League.

A number of cadre questions were resolved. MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar was released from his post on health grounds. He will soon be 77.

The plenum named Pal Etves as the new chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG.

Honecker, Marchuk Discuss Scientific Cooperation

LD0905200889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1724 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 9 May (TASS)—Science has made an outstanding contribution to the achievements with which the GDR is meeting its 40th anniversary and this is, not in the last instance, thanks to close cooperation with Soviet scientists. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council announced this today at a meeting with G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The GDR leader told his guest of the implementation of the decisions of the 11th congress of the SED, the further intensification of the national economy and the intensive utilization of key technologies. E. Honecker emphasized that the concept of economic and scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and the GDR until the year 2000 embraces every sphere of our countries' activities and creates favorable prospects for the further enhancement of peoples' welfare.

G.I. Marchuk spoke of the fundamental trends in cooperation between the USSR and GDR Academies of Sciences. The results of that cooperation are particularly important in microelectronics, information technology, biotechnology, and space exploration.

The president of the USSR Academy of Sciences was also received today by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Marchuk Comments on Visit

LD1005222389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1812 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 10 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov reports: An in-depth exchange of views on the implementation of the accords reached by Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker in the sphere of long-term economic and science and technology cooperation between the USSR and the GDR until the year 2000 was conducted during a 3-day working meeting between science academy delegations, headed by the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, G.I. Marchuk, and the president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, W. Scheler, which ended here today. The sides considered questions concerning the two academies' responsibilities in the implementation of the strategy formulated by the CPSU and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] for the development of society, especially in fundamental research. They discussed tasks of the enhancing of the effectiveness of cooperation between the two countries' scientists with the aim of creating a scientific stock in key technologies and activating the interaction between science and production.

The two delegations noted with satisfaction that the scientific cooperation between the academies promoted the successful implementation of the decisions taken by the leaderships of the two parties and states, and promoted the development of science.

At the end of his stay in the GDR the head of the USSR Academy of Sciences delegation was received by chairman of the GDR Ministers Council W. Stoph and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo K. Hager.

Commenting on the results of the USSR Academy of Sciences delegation's visit to the GDR, G.I. Marchuk said in discussion with the TASS correspondent that at present cooperation between the two countries' scientists is rising to a qualitatively new level. Science is currently undergoing a period of reorientation toward the increasingly complete satisfaction of man's material, social and spiritual needs. In accordance with this we have agreed to develop direct links as the basic form of cooperation, to complete before the end of the first half-year work on preparing a joint methodology for the new 5-year plan, and to discuss the possibilities of financing programs and projects and of establishing joint temporary teams of scientists for selected projects and topics. This will be mutually advantageous work.

But, the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences went on, it is especially important that today we have managed to identify, among the vast number of problems, major projects related to the future of scientific and technological progress in our countries. In other words, we shall turn approximately 300 themes in the natural and social sciences into about 15 projects aimed at achieving an economic and social impact either in this 5-year period or in the next. That expands the range of the joint creative research. A concrete indication of how the forms of our cooperation are changing is given by this example. To date over 1,500 GDR scientists have visited the USSR Academy of Sciences, and about the same number of their Soviet colleagues have visited the GDR Academy of Sciences. But these were short-term contacts, chiefly introductory in nature.

But last year for the first time eight members of the GDR Academy of Sciences joined the establishment of institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. These people, who have joined us for a long period, will be working in the USSR's best laboratories. I am sure that in a short time the number of such specialists will be counted in tens and hundreds.

GDR Leaders Greet Gorbachev on Victory Anniversary
PM1005155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[GDR leaders' greetings to USSR leaders on 44th anniversary of victory in World War II]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
Dear Comrades!

On the 44th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the German people's liberation from fascism we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people cordial congratulations from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the State Council, Council of Ministers, and people of the GDR.

The citizens of our socialist state will never forget that the Soviet people made the greatest sacrifices in the name of saving world civilization from fascist enslavement. The behests of the Soviet liberators live on in the deeds of the GDR's communists and working people.

This year our people are celebrating 8 May in an atmosphere of preparation for the upcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR's formation. The country is purposefully traveling the path outlined by the 11th SED Congress of further building a developed socialist society characterized by consistency and renewal. This is the GDR's contribution to strengthening socialism and peace.

Our republic fully supports the Soviet Union's constructive and far-reaching initiatives aimed at preserving peace and ensuring disarmament and detente. In the year of the 50th anniversary of the start of the devastating World War II the GDR regards the task of actively helping the replacement of confrontation by fruitful cooperation among all countries as undoubtedly the priority task.

We note with special satisfaction the dynamic development of the relations between the SED and the CPSU and between the GDR and the USSR, which are of unparalleled intensity and diversity. Close, fraternal alliance with the party and country of Lenin and a strong place in the community of socialist states are and will be the unshakable foundation of the GDR's successful development.

In connection with the 44th anniversary of victory and liberation we convey to you and to all the USSR's Communists and working people wishes for great successes in the cause of strengthening socialism and ensuring peace in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council
Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Yazov Congratulates GDR Defense Minister Kessler
PM0905183589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister Yazov to GDR Minister of National Defense Kessler]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the German people's liberation from Hitlerite fascism I send you and all soldiers in the National People's Army on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally fervent greetings and cordial congratulations.

True to the traditions of brotherhood in arms, the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces express the firm resolve to steadily strengthen the alliance of our armies in the interests of the USSR and GDR peoples' security and of the entire socialist community.

I wish the National People's Army personnel further success in improving their combat skill, and strengthening the GDR's defense capability.

With communist greetings,
[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Tool Ministry Official Meets Atanasov in Bulgaria

AU1005185289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov received today Nikolay Panichev, minister of the machine tool and tool building industry of the USSR.

The guest was briefed on the introduction of company-based organization into machine building. A discussion was held on expanding and deepening scientific, technical, and production cooperation and production sharing in the field of metal-cutting machines and systems for machining metals. The common view was expressed that the cooperation in this field should be expanded.

Special attention was given to the work of the Soviet-Bulgarian "Ivanovo-ZMM" and "Krasniy Proletariy-Beroe" Trusts [passage indistinct]. The possibilities for expanding the exchange of [word indistinct] products between the two countries were examined.

PZPR Issues Foreign Policy Document

LD0905212589 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Warsaw May 10 TASS—The revolutionary perestroyka in the USSR which makes a stabilizing impact on the world is an important factor of the improvement of the world atmosphere. This idea is stressed in the resolution on international problems "Poland in Modern World" which was adopted by the all-Polish Conference of Delegates of the Polish United Workers' Party held on May 4-5, this year, and was published here.

Poland is making a constructive contribution to the Helsinki process and is taking part in a European dialogue by putting forward its own initiatives, for example, the "Jaruzelski plan" on the reduction of armaments and confidence-building in Central Europe, as well as in the creation of an "all-European Home".

The resolution pointed out that relations with socialist countries had entered a new stage. Their basis is formed by the unity of purposes and objectives facing the world of socialism with due account for national interests and characteristic features. The ties binding Poland with the Soviet Union are especially close. Now they are determined not only by the identity of interests that has passed the test of history and that forms the foundation of the national existence of the Polish People's Republic, but also by the similarity of the direction of their transformations and their mutual support.

The conference went on record in favour of deepening relations with socialist countries, filling them with concrete meaning in each sphere and introducing new direct forms of political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and ecological cooperation in the broadly understood process of bringing nations closer together. Polish United Workers' Party is developing broad contacts and cooperation with all the left-wing and progressively-minded forces, primarily in Europe.

Foreign policy and activities in the international arena are a component part of the process of profound political and economic transformations implemented in Poland. The establishment of a model of socialist parliamentary democracy and other forms of people's power pave the way to the participation of all the citizens in the development and realisation of sovereign foreign policy of the state in line with the Polish constitution and national interests.

An appeal of the all-Polish Conference on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the beginning of World War II was also published here. It said that the realisation of the fact that Poland should never be alone and weak, like half a century ago, is one of the main lessons of the war. This is why national interests and the patriotic duty call for consolidating allied ties with socialist countries, for promoting the creation of the "all-European home" and for continuing the struggle for a safe and just world.

The all-Polish conference also adopted a resolution on environmental protection.

Polish Election Campaign Gains Momentum

PM0405123789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[V. Runov report: One Month Before the Elections: Election Campaign Beginning in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—The election campaign in Poland is gradually gaining momentum. It is developing in accordance with the precise rules laid down in law by the Sejm at the beginning of April, your TASS correspondent in

Warsaw says in his report to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. The new parliamentary system, whose vague form was scarcely visible at the beginning of the year, assumed definite shape during the recent round table talks when representatives of the government, Solidarity, and other social forces in Poland reached a general agreement on the representation system and the parliamentary election procedure.

A great many election centers have now opened across the whole country. Virtually anybody who has been nominated by 3,000 sponsors can run for election. The National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ], the trade union Solidarity, and a number of Polish social organizations are entering the fray along with such influential forces as the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the Democratic Party [SD], and the United Peasant Party [ZSL]. Individual citizens are also running for election.

The elections, due on June 4, will be held in an extremely complex economic situation. This is undoubtedly having a serious effect on the public's mood and the stance of certain groups of voters. The party is aware of this and believes that the way to overcome the present difficulties is by broadening democracy and political pluralism.

"The PZPR is entering the struggle for parliamentary seats as the initiator of current reforms with a precise program of actions in the sociopolitical and economic spheres," W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated at the recent 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. "The party supports the policy of national accord and at the same time stands surely for the socialist system, stability, and the internal and external security of the state." The Central Committee has appealed to all PZPR members to take active part in the election campaign so as to ensure mass support for the candidates of the PZPR and the allied parties.

The time for concrete actions has now come. For example, the question of setting up an election campaign fund has been raised. In almost all voivodships communists have set up social commissions to collect money under the slogan: "Everyone gives as much money as he can." All contributions are voluntary. They are coming in from individual PZPR members and from party organizations, which earn money during their spare time on Saturdays and Sundays. By the beginning of May communists in Szczecin alone had collected Z8 million. A preelection consolidation of forces is in progress within the OPZZ, too. "We must set aside our differences for the election period and actively work together with all our allies in the struggle on behalf of our common candidates," was the appeal put forward by representatives of the OPZZ executive committee to the organization's 7 million members.

"Whereas in its everyday activity the union has struggled and will continue to struggle for its independence, during the election period it is necessary to join forces with all true allies: The PZPR, the SD, and the ZSL," Wojciech Obarski, vice chairman of the OPZZ, stated. "We must bear in mind that meeting even people's minor needs means more than loud words and slogans. The organization of everyday life and leisure and increasing the number of places in creches and kindergartens are the main tasks facing our candidates."

Solidarity is also making preparations for the elections. The cafe with the highly significant name "Surprise" which is situated in a square in central Warsaw has changed its signboard. Now it houses the Solidarity Citizen's committee election campaign center. The formal changing of the signboard has led to fundamental essential changes. The counter, kitchen, and ancillary premises have been replaced by desks and stands displaying bright posters. Young people, handing to passers by copies of the Solidarity Citizen's Committee election program, lists of independent candidates from Warsaw, and trade union leaflets, are on duty throughout the day by the entrance to the center now. Here, too, they are busily selling special coupons known as "election campaign bricks" [kirpichik] (one such "brick is worth Z500—around R2.5). The display stands show bank account numbers to which people can transfer both zlotys and hard currency. An election leaflet bearing Solidarity's emblem announces that the Citizens' committee has nominated nine candidates to the Sejm and three candidates to the national senate in the Warsaw constituency.

It is about 350 km from Warsaw to Gdansk, where the Solidarity headquarters are found. But it was worth the trip to visit Lech Walesa, the organization's chairman. His office, set up just a few days ago, is marked by its modesty. In actual fact it is a few rooms in an apartment block with bright Solidarity nameplates on all the doors. Walesa has a small apartment with very little furniture. When receiving a large group of Soviet journalists for the first time he could not hide his satisfaction at the fact that he was able to put his views to representatives of the USSR.

Walesa believes that the recent round table talks were responsible for producing the agreement, the first in many years, that was needed to get the country out of its difficult crisis. But in his opinion the political accords exist only on paper at the moment. There is long and painstaking work ahead to implement them. Both pluralism and democracy must be learned so that they do not turn into anarchy.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama in Turmoil After Presidential Elections

Post-Election Situation Viewed

LD1005115289 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 10 May 89

["Panama in Turmoil as Election Results Disputed"—TASS headline]

[Text] Panama City May 10 TASS—By TASS correspondents Eldar Abdulayev and Aleksandr Chernov:

The political system in Panama has been thrown in turmoil by a delay in announcing the results of the recent presidential election. The opposition alliance is accusing the authorities of rigging the election returns as the vote counting commission has not yet managed to process the returns in all constituencies.

At the call of the opposition alliance, several thousand of its supporters gathered in the centre of the capital and moved to the vote counting commisison headquarters. All international observers, invited for the elections, are staying in a nearby hotel. To prevent clashes and disorders the government was compelled to send police units to block the approaches to the building. Some of the demonstrators, despite repeated warnings, attempted to break through the police cordon and undertook provocative actions. They hurled stones at policemen, warning shots were fired in the air. Having failed to enter the guarded complex, the opposition staged a riot in nearby districts, setting light to car tyres and fencing.

According to political news analysts, radically-minded opposition circles have become more active and militant due to the obvious U.S. support. Two U.S. congressmen, now in Panama City, openly called upon the opposition to engage in civil disobedience and accused the government and the military leadership of rigging the election. Moreover, the U.S. Southern Command held a news conference in the course of which it was announced, with reference to anonymous sources, that the election had been rigged.

Journalists were told that the White House was ready to take firm steps against the government and General Noriega personally if they refused to recognise the opposition alliance's victory. The Southern Command's radio and television channel are beaming provocative programmes all over the republic.

Panama's Foreign Minister Jorge Eduardo Ritter made a statement on behalf of the national leadership, qualifying the U.S. actions as interference in the sovereign state's internal affairs.

The leaders of the National Liberation Coalition (COLINA) held a news conference, briefing journalists on COLINA's preliminary unofficial election returns. Over 436,000 or 48.9 per cent votes were cast for the coalition, while the opposition won 387,000 votes or 43.3 per cent. Almost 50,000 people, or 4.5 per cent, voted for the candidate from the Patido Panamenista Autentico. Approximately 20,000 or 3.3 per cent of the electors crossed out the names of all three presidential candidates.

According to COLINA, 75 per cent of the electorate went to the polls.

Unofficial Results, U.S. Moves Cited

PM1005142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS reports under the general heading "Panama After the Elections"]

[Text] Panama City, 9 May—Counting of the votes cast in the general elections held Sunday is nearing completion.

The leaders of the National Liberation Coalition have held a press conference at which unofficial preliminary figures on the election results were announced. The coalition received 48.9 percent of the votes, the opposition over 43 percent.

In recent hours the internal political situation in Panama has become markedly exacerbated. The opposition alliance, exploiting the fact that for a number of organizational reasons the tellers' commission has not yet managed to process the figures from all electoral districts, is charging the authorities with rigging the results of the voting. At the alliance's call, several thousand of its supporters assembled in the center of the capital and headed for the tellers' commission headquarters. To avoid violence the government was forced to block off the approaches to the area with police. With no hope of penetrating the guarded complex the instigators went on the rampage in the surrounding areas.

The U.S. Southern Command, stationed in Panama, organized a press conference during which it was announced that rigging of election results had taken place. Journalists were told that the U.S. Government is ready to take "resolute measures" against the Panamanian leadership if it refuses to recognize the opposition's victory. Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter has made a statement in this regard in which such actions by the United States are described as flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. In this critical situation, fraught with unpredictable consequences, the government of the country reserves the right to again ask the UN Security Council to examine the question of unceasing U.S. aggression against Panama, which poses a threat to the whole of the Central American region.

Washington, 9 May—As reported by officials, President George Bush has met with a group of his advisers, including the vice president, the director of the CIA, and the secretary of defense. Highly placed administration staffers have stated that new U.S. sanctions against Panama, including a trade embargo and the dispatch of extra U.S troops to the American military bases in the country "to defend the Americans living there," are possible.

Bush intends to make a final decision on further U.S. policy toward Panama after his upcoming meeting with the group of American observers who were in the country during the elections, America's CBS reports.

Annulment Decision Called 'Correct'

LD1105053589 Moscow TASS in English 0527 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Panama City May 11 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Eldar Abdullayev and Aleksandr Chernov:

Panama's National Election Tribunal has announced the May 7 general elections in the country invalid and annulled the polling results, Foreign Minister of the Republic Jorge Eduardo Ritter told TASS officially. The tribunal's crucial decision was prompted by the following causes:

—In the course of the elections and vote counting by the Electoral Commission representatives of the opposition alliance made very gross violations of the election code. They blockaded polling stations, preventing ballot boxes from being taken to the commission's headquarters in good time, a considerable part of ballot-papers were stolen or destroyed. Several ballot boxes were burnt.

—As election returns were announced in different provinces, the opposition, directly instigated by the United States, started heightening the atmosphere by resorting to obviously provocative and subversive actions. That led to an outburst of violence in the country. Clashes took place between army and police units, and armed extremist elements of the opposition, several servicemen were wounded, as well as some civilians and representatives of the opposition and the national liberation coalition. Opposition groups staged acts of vandalism, riots and arson in the capital and other towns of the republic.

With the situation being critical and exclusively explosive, which might lead to the most unpredictable consequences for the country's future, its independence and sovereignty, security of the citizens and the Panama Canal, this decision appears to be extraordinary but the only correct one. It was supported by the president of the country, the government and the Military Command of the Republic.

Analyst on U.S. 'Interference'

LD1005155989 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Nikola Chigir: The events related to U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Panama are acquiring an increasingly alarming nature. Statements by President George Bush and other official Washington spokesmen on the general elections held in Panama demonstrate that the U.S. ruling circles intend to put into play power methods against that country.

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said that the U.S. President and his advisers "have been considering options that range from the use of military force to various economic and commercial moves". As if to corroborate these threats, the CBS television network reported in its dispatch from the Pentagon about the possibility of dispatching to Panama one more 3,000-strong brigade in addition to 10,000 American servicemen stationed there.

To all appearances, Washington decided to do away, cost what it may, (?with) the present Panamanian leadership which consistently upholds Panama's sovereignty and independence, and to replace it with the people who would implicitly serve the U.S. interests.

It is noteworthy that even before the final results of the elections in Panama were tallied, in Washington they hurried to announce without any grounds that the opposition group, behind which the U.S. ruling circles are known to stand, allegedly gained victory at the elections and demand under this absolutely groundless pretext the removal of present Panamanian leaders from power.

This cannot be described other than an open attempt to dictate one's will to the Panamanian people and the government. It seems that in the United States they are unwilling to respect the general principle of the freedom of choice. Habits to view Panama and several other regions as their backyard are still strong there, the French LE MONDE newspaper points out.

Taking up the torch of the anti-Panamanian crusade launched by the Reagan administration, the current U.S. Government pursues, first and foremost, the objective to force Panama to agree to the revision of the treaties on the Panama Canal and to preserve for good American military bases on Panamanian territory, the same French newspaper writes.

Actions of this kind are grounded in Washington by security interests and references to political and ideological values. But these references are totally unsound. New thinking in international affairs and any forms of interference in the affairs of sovereign states similar to those to which the United States has recourse now with regard to Panama, are incompatible.

U.S. Should Use 'Common Sense'

LD1105135389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 11 May 89

[Yuriy Isayev Commentary]

[Text] Now for the presidential elections in Panama, which were won by Carlos Dugue, representative of the National Liberation coalition. There were 279 foreign observers monitoring the election process. They distributed a statement assessing the latest events in the country. They say that virtually all the observers were given the opportunity to carry out their functions. Yet Washingtdon still is trying to dispute the democatic nature of the elections in Panama. Over to our commentator, Yuriy Isayev.

[Isayev] The elections in Panama were held in a complex atmosphere. The United States had put in considerable financial means in order to get an oppositon victory at the elections. The U.S. Administration resorted to clear political and economic pressure on the present Panamanian Government. A few days before the elections, George Bush declared that he would not recognize the results of the elections if they were won by the ruling party candidate. And that is what happened. On Sunday, and then on Monday, ultrarightist elements provoked disorders at polling stations. They carried out an attack on some state institutions and on the headquarters of political organizations. Army subunits and police stepped up street patrols. Armed detachments provided protection for the building where the Central Counting Commission was operating, the press center, and the hotels where the foreign observers who had come to Panama were staying.

Carlos Duque's victory was not to the taste of the U.S. Administration. U.S. President George Bush, not even waiting for the official results of the general election in Panama, demanded in ultimatum form the resignation of General Manuel Noriega from the post of commander in chief of the Panamanian National Defense Forces. As White House Press Secretary Fitzwater stated, the President and his advisers are looking at ways for possible U.S. action against Panama. Such action includes the use of military force as well as economic and trade sanctions.

It is difficult to say what Washington is about to undertake. In any event, a special detachment of 3,000 commandos has been created already, and has flown to Panamanian bases. At the bases themselves all 10,000 servicemen have been put on enhanced combat readiness. The situation in Panama is complex and tense. The argument that justified the intervention against Grenada has been launched already: the protection of U.S. civilians, but this time in Panama.

One would like to believe that common sense and the new political thinking will gain the upper hand over gunboat and mailed-fist policy. As the French paper LE MONDE rightly noted today, the United States continues to regard Latin America as its back yard. The paper writes that U.S. armed actions against Panama would be perceived negatively by the Latin American countries and by the governments of European states.

TASS Reports on Foiled Guatemalan Coup

LD1005062789 Moscow TASS in English 0621 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Havana May 10 TASS—Troops loyal to Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo thwarted a coup attempt in Guatemala on Monday, [as received] according to a radio statement by presidential spokesman Carlos Aldeu.

The bid to overthrow Guatemala's civilian government was led by retired Army officers and Air Force officers on active service disgruntled with recent changes in the Army and police leadership, local observers say.

Reports from Guatemala City indicated that troops and tanks surrounded the residence of Guatemalan Defence Minister Hector Gramajo on Tuesday.

A group of servicemen took over the Voice of Guatemala government radio station, calling on the population to "remain calm".

Military planes and helicopters buzzed over the city during the first half of the day on Tuesday.

At a press conference later in the day, presidential spokesman Carlos Aldeu said that troops loyal to the president have put down the coup attempt.

The situation was back to normal, he announced, saying that the threat to democracy had been eliminated.

In Washington, a Pentagon representative said the United States will condemn any action against the civil government in Guatemala.

Costa Rica Foreign Minister Interviewed on Ties

LD0705161589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0845 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] San Jose, 7 May (TASS)—"Diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations between the USSR and Costa Rica can be characterized as being, to a considerable extent, cordial, mutually advantageous, and with a tendency toward further improvement," Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, Costa Rica's foreign affairs minister, has stated here. In an interview which he gave to TASS correspondent Enrique Mora on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which will be marked on 8 May this year, he noted that a constant and wide-scale exchange of information and points of view on various issues of international politics is of great importance for deepening bilateral cooperation and mutual understanding.

The Soviet leadership's present course aimed at achieving general peace, as well as restructuring and glasnost, signify the beginning of an encouraging new stage in international politics, the minister stressed. These changes will undoubtedly have a beneficial effect on Costa Rica. Our country links its hopes of living in a harmonious world with the achievement of a political settlement in Central America. An aspiration for peace and democracy is the common aim of the Soviet and Costa Rican peoples, R. Madrigal Nieto emphasized.

Katushev Meets Argentine Governor 28 Apr
PM0905135589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On April 27, K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, received Jose O. Bordon, governor of Mendoza Province (Argentina), who is visiting the USSR at the invitation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's Council of Ministers.

Political & Social

Yeltsin Comments on Central Committee 'Purge'

PM1005143489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 29 Apr 89 p 14

[Ezio Mauro dispatch: "Yeltsin Urges Gorbachev: 'Now It's the Politburo's Turn'"]

[Text] Moscow—"The conservatives have spoken and everyone has seen them at work: I believe it is clear that they can now feel the ground giving way under their feet, especially following the retirement of the 110 Central Committee members." Boris Yeltsin is watching from outside the clash between Gorbachev and the conservatives of the apparatus that transformed the latest plenum into a dramatic confrontation, with restructuring in the dock at the very time when the general secretary was taking control of the party by expelling the Brezhnevian imperial guard. Having emerged victorious from the March elections, but under investigation by the Central Committee following protests from the apparatus, who were frightened by his election campaign, Yeltsin has said nothing since the elections, concentrating on forging relations of understanding and cooperation with the most progressive deputies who emerged from the Soviet elections, with a view to coordinating joint action in the parliament. Now that his traditional adversaries have been weakened by Gorbachev's great purge, the former Moscow party secretary is urging the general secretary to pursue the same path, without believing that he has already won. "There are still too many people from the past. In the Politburo as well."

[Journalist] Boris Nikolayevich, less than a year ago the powerful Mikhail Solomentsev, a Politburo member, had you answer to the Auditing Commission, criticizing you for your statements against Ligachev. Now that Solomentsev is among the 110 people expelled from the Central Committee, do you feel like the victor?

[Yeltsin] When I read his name on the list of 110 "retirees" at the plenum, I thought that he had at last got what he deserved. He treated me unfairly. But it was not just me. Now many of those people are out at last.

[Journalist] Can this mass retirement of leaders bound to the past both politically and by age change the balance of forces within the Soviet leadership?

[Yeltsin] The operation set in motion by Gorbachev is very important. These gentlemen were already retired, inasmuch as they had no tasks. But it certainly cannot be said that it was as though they were not there. It took time to achieve this renewal, but we have achieved it. Perhaps it also took the 26 March election result. Because following the elections nothing can remain as before.

[Journalist] Why do you believe the conservatives found the strength just now to unleash their fierce attack on restructuring at the plenum?

[Yeltsin] I do not know whether this is a display of strength. I would say that they tried to exploit the country's difficulties at this time, because the situation is difficult, and Gorbachev portrayed it to the plenum exactly as it is, without hiding anything. Let us admit by all means that it is a situation that lends itself to criticisms. But the criticisms of restructuring at the plenum had other reasons—personal demands and shared fears.

[Journalist] Do you believe there was a proper organized maneuver behind all the speeches against glasnost, democratization, the voters' choice, the informal groups—that is, against the results of restructuring?

[Yeltsin] I do not know, but I would not say so. I believe, rather, that to undergo this tide of criticisms was the only possible way to exclude those 110 people from the contest.

[Journalist] So was it a kind of compromise and exchange between Gorbachev's renewal and the apparatus' fears?

[Yeltsin] Let us say that it was an inevitable step in order to begin the renewal. I say "begin" because the 110 people expelled from the Central Committee have not yet been replaced by new people—or only partly. This must be done, though party rules state that it is a task that only the congress can perform.

[Journalist] Why did restructuring's most open supporters not speak in the face of the conservatives' attack at the plenum?

[Yeltsin] I can tell you why I did not speak—because certain things are not yet clear about what has happened recently. For instance, not all the "retirees" signed the letter asking to resign. Some have remained. The list is incomplete. I would rather wait.

[Journalist] You are also awaiting the conclusions of the committee of inquiry investigating your election campaign: Are you still worried, as you were before the elections?

[Yeltsin] Much less so. My name was not even mentioned at the plenum. I believe that the great election victory had some impact on everyone. It caused them to reflect. Moreover Gorbachev has clearly said that voters voted for and rewarded the men of restructuring. For my part, I have always considered myself a man of restructuring: I fight for this policy, defend it, and want it to go ahead. Of course I do not do this in the traditional way, but I am the kind of person who does not like to dilute his wine too much.

[Journalist] Can Gorbachev be said to have won now, after the elections and the plenum?

[Yeltsin] Let us say that the conservatives are much less strong than before. They are struggling more and more every day, and feel that they are losing ground. But the old guard have not been entirely excluded from the leadership: Some of them are still there, alongside Gorbachev.

ZNAMYA Editor Comments on Leadership Changes
PM1105130689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 27 Apr 89 p 11

[Interview with ZNAMYA Editor Grigoriy Baklanov by Ezio Mauro in Moscow—date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Introductory passage omitted]

[Mauro] Grigoriy Yakovlevich, did you expect this important change at the plenum? Do you think that the big confrontation between reformers and conservatives in the leadership is now over, once and for all?

[Baklanov] I do not think it is possible to say that the game has been won. But you just have to talk with intellectuals and question the real supporters of restructuring to realize that it is a long-awaited decision, that it could be of great importance for the future course of restructuring. The same judgments are being expressed all over the world; you just have to switch on the radio to realize that. And rather than thinking that the confrontation is over, it must be said that something has happened in our country today which will be remembered for years—a real turning-point from the viewpoint of politics, and a rejuvenation.

[Mauro] But, with regard to the balance in the leadership, following the exit of the 110 "retirees," is it really possible to say that the USSR has wiped out the long legacy of stagnation, and that all the Brezhnevian old guard have gone, cancelled out by the forces of restructuring?

[Baklanov] The old guard have certainly gone. But be careful not to think that they have all gone. Many of Brezhnev's men have remained. And we are well aware that the old guard are dying, but they are not capitulating. That is why I cannot say that Brezhnev's legacy has been repudiated once and for all: It is not just represented by the old cadres and retirees leaving their Central Committee posts, but by all those who oppose restructuring, whether openly or not.

[Mauro] Why has Gorbachev now found the strength to carry out this "purge" when he did not have it 1 year ago at the party conference? Did he need the backing of the people's vote against the CPSU apparatus?

[Baklanov] I do not know whether it is the balance of forces which gave the general secretary his time and opportunity. But at the conference there were many other problems to tackle—political, social, and administrative. Perhaps it is better that this operation should be carried out now.

And it is certainly important—I would like to emphasize this—that it has been carried out in a perfectly legal way. Of course, we do not know how the signatures for the "resignation" letters were obtained, but there was no opposition and everything was done openly.

[Mauro] Many people expected the plenum to relieve those leadership members rejected by the people's votes in the March elections of their party positions: Why was that decision not made?

[Baklanov] Why was it necessary to make it now? More than 100 leadership members were expelled from the Central Committee: I think that the others will now have to think about things for a time. But, at all events, I think that it should be normal, or even compulsory, to resign after the people have expressed no confidence in you.

We are only at the beginning: I think that within a certain space of time resignation will become a common practice in our country, because that is what democratization requires.

Slyunkov Addresses Central Committee on Economy
18200336 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS-attributed report: "A Time for Clear-Cut Decisions and Vigorous Action: A Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting of the chiefs of socioeconomic departments of the union republic communist party central committees, kraykoms and obkoms and a number of the CPSU gorkoms took place 26 and 27 April in the CPSU Central Committee. They considered a broad range of questions concerning restructuring in the work of the party committees, improving the forms and methods of political leadership in the course of radical reforms, and the realization of party social policy, and there was in-depth analysis of the work of the departments in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) and March (1989) plenums.

Opening the meeting, N.N. Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission, said that the priority task for the party and the entire people is to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development, deal with the negative trends in the economy, impart a high level of dynamism to the economy, provide broad scope for the initiative and creativity of the masses, and include each working person in the

work. In this connection he emphasized the urgent task of the most active inclusion of radical restructuring in the economy and the renewal of the party apparatus.

V.I. Shimko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, presented a report on the tasks of the socioeconomic sections of the party committees in implementing party socioeconomic policy at the present stage of restructuring.

This meeting, he said, is being held as the result of a decision by the CPSU Central Committee. This determines the important role that is attached to the socioeconomic departments of the Central Committee in activating the processes of restructuring.

The political and economic situation in the country is ambiguous. On the one hand there is the broad development of restructuring and its significant advance in virtually all directions. On the other hand, restructuring is now proceeding in a contradictory manner. Part of the problem, particularly in the economy and in the social and scientific and technical sphere, is being resolved in a half-hearted and inconsistent way. Many new questions are arising that require clear-cut answers and decisive and vigorous action.

The election campaign has thrown light on a great deal. It took place in a situation of sharp political passion and showed that many of the party organizations that have literally ossified have been isolated from the masses and have lost the initiative. In here, a large portion of the blame probably lies with us. Obviously not all party committees are acting skillfully in the present complex situation. A study of affairs at the local level shows that some socioeconomic departments are overloaded with the legacy of former sector departments and still engage only poorly in prediction and analytical activities.

Talking about the party's new socioeconomic policy and the priority tasks in implementation of that policy, the speaker dwelled in detail with urgent problems in radical economic reform as a main lever in improving production efficiency and improving final national economic results. He noted the paramount importance of measures to normalize money circulation, solve the food problem as quickly as possible, build up the production of goods and services, expand housing construction, and increase attention to the preservation of human health and the ecology. The enormous importance of accelerating scientific and technical progress and the modernization of machine building was emphasized. Great attention was paid to questions concerning centralized and territorial management of the economy.

It was precisely from these positions that the main indicators characterizing the state of affairs in the national economy were analyzed in detail. After noting a number of positive changes the speaker said that the course of the economic reform cannot yet be regarded as satisfactory. Much is being done on a delayed basis and with deviation from what was planned. Approaches that prompt producers to "cost-is-no-object" forms of operations and the gross approach are still preserved and their independence is being curtailed.

The managers of a considerable number of enterprises and organizations are not making full use of the potential of decisions already promulgated to confirm economic independence and are not moving toward changes in economic relations on the basis of leasing and other progressive forms. New relations in production and distribution are sometimes bogged down in the bureaucratic labyrinths of a multistage management structure. These and other major difficulties can be overcome if the provisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum are followed more decisively.

When resolving problems concerning the implementation of party socioeconomic policy, the speaker said, we are focusing attention on the human factor. Success in this matter depends to some extent on the professionalism, competence, businesslike approach and many other factors of quality that managers must master. Work with cadres is a most important sector of the activity of socioeconomic departments.

The main condition for success is recruiting workers to the side of the new management methods. It is essential to show in what specific forms internal production cost accounting can and must be used, and to provide understandable and simple methods for determining results and calculating costs. People must see clearly that everything they get and their successes in improving labor productivity and cutting costs will not tomorrow turn into lowered evaluations and losses of wages. If all workers are convinced the transfer to the new method is advantageous for them then they will defend it with might and main. But for this we need painstaking and persistent work by the party committees and their socioeconomic departments.

Characterizing the special features of these departments in the new conditions, the speaker noted that breaking with the traditions and habits that have taken shape over the years and restructuring in the thinking of party cadres and of the style of their activity are still proceeding slowly. The desire still exists to make the apparatus of a party committee a mini-economic council or regional command post, and to retain the practice of voluntarary-coercive management of subordinate organizations. Tardiness and inertia cannot be justified in dealing with this. We must all do more work, make more active use of the potential of party decisions and support restructuring with organizational and political activity.

The following presented reports at the meeting: S.A. Sitaryan, USSR Gosplan first deputy chairman; B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance; V.S. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices; I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor

and Social Problems; I.M. Bortnik, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; K.T. Turysov, AUCCTU secretary; V.I. Kretov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Oblast construction committee; V.G. Sokolovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature; V.G. Vladimirov, chief editor of the journal EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA; and I.A. Pogosov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

The following chiefs of socioeconomic departments took part in the discussions: V.A. Korovin from the CPSU Moscow Gorkom; S.V. Urzhumov for the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; V.G. Chinyakin for the CPSU Krasnodar Kraykom; A.P. Savchenko for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; L.P. Zamarayev for the CPSU Sverdlovsk Gorkom; I.P. Belistov for the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; and A.D. Paleyko for the Belorussian Communist Party Vitebsk Obkom.

Summarizing the results of the meeting N.N. Slyunkov covered the main, fundamentally important questions in economic and social policy from the standpoint of urgent tasks in economic reform. Restructuring, he said, should bring the economy up to a qualitatively new level, ensure the renewal of the production apparatus, accomplish structural restructuring by directing it toward the achievement of high final results, increase productivity in social labor and efficiency in general, and guarantee the high quality and competitiveness of products. And on this basis raise the living standards of Soviet people, solve the food and housing problem, effect reform in education and public health, and saturate the consumer market with high-quality goods and services.

But restructuring in the economy is not a short-term but a long-term process, a strategic course, an entire stage in social development. The salient feature of restructuring, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized, is that it is being accomplished while retaining and strengthening socialist values: full employment, social guarantees and social protection, and access to education and medical services.

After noting the positive results in economic and social development in the country, N.N. Slyunkov said that the situation in the economy remains complex. Its development has still not acquired the necessary stability. In terms of most indicators from the results of the last 3 years, the economy has not reached the level of the 5-year plan. Its structure, the technical level of production, and the quality and competitiveness of products are changing slowly. No marked shift has taken place in food supplies or in saturating the market with essential industrial durables. The level of management in most sectors is not up to present-day requirements.

Today our country has at its disposal a powerful production potential. Its further comprehensive buildup has been made difficult, and irrationally so. The main direction is now modernization of the production apparatus. We must over the next 15 years completely renew the machine and equipment inventory and existing technologies. In this connection it is essential to change investment policy. Capital investments must be directed not to new construction but to the retooling of existing enterprises. But for a real and serious reconstruction what is important is not the allocation of funds as such but the utilization and materialization of those funds.

This means that of the existing systems of machines and technologies it is essential to master the most progressive kinds quickly. On the other hand, the production of machines and equipment that result in a multiple increase in improving production efficiency must be developed and mastered quickly and in more significant quantities. The country's machine-building program and programs envisaging the extensive use of electronics are naturally being supported by the party at the level of the most important account and political tasks.

We must therefore draw the practical conclusions from our work. The transformation of production forces and scientific and technical progress are the basis of our socioeconomic strategy.

The new economic policy, he went on to note, can be implemented only as the result of restructuring in the investment process, and this is associated directly with improving the effectiveness of capital investments and improvements in the economic mechanism in construction.

The new stage in the economic reform is also impossible without restructuring in scientific activity. It is especially necessary to intensify work to integrate science and production and vigorously involve VUZ science in this process.

In order to accelerate the use of technical achievements it is necessary to create a market for hi-tech products, guarantee competitiveness, eliminate monopolism in particular scientific organizations and enterprises, and develop marketing for scientific and technical production. Both at the center and at the local level we must resolve as quickly as possible questions that are hampering the process of introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Among the economic factors affecting rates and proportions in the national economy, the saving of resources occupies a special place. It must be recognized that we are still managing things in a very wasteful way. Manpower, energy and raw materials are being used inefficiently.

In all work in restructuring in the economy, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to say, the party has highlighted the most acute and top-priority issues. And it is on these that the attention and efforts of the party committees and the socioeconomic departments are today being concentrated. The most pressing of these issues is the status of our finances and the consumer market.

The country is living beyond its means. This is resulting in the issue of money, giving rise to inflationary processes, devaluing the rubles and will ultimately strike a serious blow against people's living standards, particularly those with low incomes.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved measures to effect normalization of the country's finances. What must be done first and foremost? First, the incomes of labor collectives and of the public must be made directly dependent on the results of labor. Second, and this is paramount, the market must be flooded with products.

The main channel for surplus money is through wage increases which outstrip improvements in labor productivity. It is essential to work with the party organizations at enterprises and with the workers and to explain this situation to the labor collective councils, through the local press and at meetings.

Talking about the ways to improve the state of affairs in the consumer market and saturate it with goods, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that we must proceed from the premise that each ruble of growth in incomes, both within a collective and in a region as a whole, should be covered by an increase in the production of consumer goods. This relationship is a priority and it should be constantly monitored by the oblast party committee and their socioeconomic departments.

In order to expand the production of consumer goods and services it is essential to make active use of new forms of cost-accounting relations, first and foremost leasing. It is precisely on the resolution of this task that the cooperative movement must be focused, and the network of small enterprises, which world experience shows create an enormous effect in the production of consumer goods and services, must be expanded.

In order to solve problems of balancing public incomes and spending, in each region great importance is attached to the development of user-fee services and the expanded sale of housing.

Under conditions in which there are shortages of many specialized goods, great importance is attached to workers monitoring the distribution of commodity resources and to bringing proper order to trade.

The 1990 draft plan is now being reviewed in the USSR Council of Ministers. It is intended to increase the output of consumer goods by a minimum of 15 percent, and by more than 20 percent for commodities in the nonfood group. In the machine building, defense, construction and fuel-and-energy complexes production of consumer goods should increase by a factor of 1.3 to 1.6. It is envisaged that growth in the volume of user-fee services offered by nonspecialized ministries should increase at least 20 percent relative to the plan for the current year.

Recognizing the need for each ruble of wages to be covered by goods and services, ministry and department chiefs are accepting these projections.

However, many of the union republic councils of ministers are assuming a quite contradictory position. And it would seem that they should be most interested in balancing incomes with spending by the public in their own territories, and in mobilizing all available reserves for this.

How, for example, are we to understand the councils of ministers in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Lithuania, Kirghizia and Tajikistan, which instead of seeking out possibilities for increasing the production of goods and services are making maximum efforts to set easier targets and are expending more energy on obtaining permission to issue more money than on organizational work. But wherever the party, soviet and economic leaders and labor collectives are showing initiative and making broad use of their rights and opportunities, noticeable results are being achieved. Each republic, kray and oblast must have a clear-cut program for rapidly saturating the market with goods and services that assumes the utilization of all available reserves and opportunities, N.N. Slyunkov emphasized.

One burning problem is improving foodstuffs supplies for the population. In this connection the CPSU Central Committee secretary offered a detailed description of the party's new agrarian policy worked out at the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum.

Radical reform of the economic mechanism occupies a special place in restructuring and the qualitative renewal of the economy. The task is to move, once and for all, away from bureaucratic-voluntarist management methods and switch to the use of economic methods. We want to create a management system that is in line with our social principles and ideals and that takes into account the special features and scales of the Soviet economy and its place in the world economy, N.N. Slyunkov said. It is important fully and consistently to bring into play all its main elements to embody the principles that have been established, namely, to liberate the initiative of the workers and the labor collectives, reveal reserves and opportunities, and bring into play incentives for rational and efficient management.

The search is under way for forms of cost accounting at enterprises and in territories and development of the cooperative system, leasing and individual labor activity. Success in this matter, giving due consideration to implementation of a cardinal economic reform must be sought in the direction of devising and implementing large-scale state scientific and technical programs and programs for structural restructuring in priority scientific directions and with a social thrust in development.

Talking about the centralized instruments that regulate the economy, the CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelled on questions of price setting, and he noted that the problems that have arisen here must be considered more carefully in work on the 13th Five-Year Plan, bearing in mind that their resolutions are interconnected with realizing measures of financial normalization and stabilization in the consumer market.

One extremely important component of the new management conditions is the development of wholesale trade in the means of production. The main reasons for the difficulties in switching to wholesale trade are the high degree of monopolization in the production sphere, the large volume of uncompleted construction, and the material-financial imbalance. A set of measures to eliminate these is being worked on in order to develop wholesale trade.

Later a detailed description was offered of the role of foreign economic links.

In the speech great attention was paid to questions concerning restructuring in the organizational structures of management. Standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers have been set up. A number of ministries have been abolished. Some of the union republic ministries have been made all-union ministries. Some 192 ministries and departments have been eliminated in the union republics and 156 in the autonomous republics. The central apparatus of ministries and departments has been restructured. As a result the number of independent structural subdivisions has been reduced 40 percent, and 610,000 people have been freed up from those organs.

At the same time, bringing proper order to the management structure and reducing the numerical strength of the administrative apparatus have not entirely eliminated the multi-staged nature and cumbersomeness of management, and have not led to deep qualitative changes in the style and methods of work in ministries and departments. This work has been organized in a particularly poor way at enterprises where the numerical strength of the managers has not been reduced. New proposals are now being prepared for the consolidation of ministries and departments.

Problems of regional cost accounting occupied an important place in the speech. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has submitted for national debate the draft general principles for management in the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of extending their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing.

The main intention here is prompting the organs of popular power to become the solicitous and zealous masters of their own territories and to improve their relations with enterprises on a new level. The switch to self-financing means that payments into the local budget for developing the social sphere and the accelerated construction of housing, hospitals and training establishments and providing services and amenities on territories will be formed according to a normativ based on enterprise profits.

In conclusion, N.N. Slyunkov drew the attention of those present at the meeting to specific aspects of the present approach to party leadership in the economy. The organization of socioeconomic departments in the CPSU Central Committee and in the union republic communist party central committees and party obkoms and certain other party committees, he said, is creating good prerequisites for more consistent and purposeful party influence than hitherto on the economic and social development of the country and its regions. Freed up from day-to-day concerns and from substituting for economic and soviet organs, the party committees and their departments should master the new political methods and means of work more quickly.

Meanwhile, the figures show that the new socioeconomic departments at the local level are in many cases continuing to fulfill the function of exerting operational influence on enterprises and the organs of economic management and are overloaded because of the abolition of sector departments. This is probably occurring not because life is good but because of the complexity of the situation and because of the inability of some soviet and economic organs to assume responsibility.

But much is determined by affection of some party workers for a certain behavioral stereotype. We must master more rapidly those functions and work methods that should become the main ones. What I have in mind is the methods of in-depth prediction-analysis activity, developing the habits of generalizing trends, and influencing economic processes through people and political work among the masses.

The socioeconomic departments should be able to note all that is new and initiative-filled and support it in every possible way and help to implement it. One important task for them is active work to clarify the prevailing economic situation and the purpose and content of measures to effect financial normalization, stabilize money circulation, rationalize the use of all kinds of resources, and practically master the principles of full cost accounting.

The party committees must constantly maintain cadre policy in their domain. Today all party cadres are undergoing the test of restructuring. We have a special political responsibility. Communists are called upon to implement party policy in the best way and to be the initiators of thought and action.

We must all persistently master Marxist-Leninist theory, practical work in party building, and innovative processes in the economy, and carry on a dialogue at the professional level both with workers and specialists and with economic leaders.

The party organizations are called upon to place at the center of attention questions of public life and people's attitudes. They must have a good knowledge of and give due consideration to insuring that their activity is built only on this basis, creatively, with a sense of principle a businesslike approach, without fear, if need be, of admitting their own miscalculations to the people.

The businesslike approach must be intensified. Control must be intensified over compliance with party decisions. There must be careful a study of people's needs, requests and opinions. Competence, knowledge and erudition must be enhanced so that the party worker can say to people that he has a basis for discussion and an adequate supply of arguments to make the specialists listen to his opinion.

Under the new conditions party work demands from communists boldness, independence, flexibility and decisiveness.

Council of Ministers Debates Prices, Wages

18280120 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by V. Golovachev: "Difficult Steps of Reform"]

[Text] **As was already reported, there was meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was led by member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.I. Ryzhkov. They considered a broad spectrum of issues related to the development of our economy. Today we shall discuss in greater detail the most critical of them, which affect the interests of the labor collectives and each worker.**

Unearned Wages

One of the most alarming tendencies, which was clearly manifested last year and continued during the first quarter of this year, was the unjustified growth of wages, which outstripped the increase in labor productivity. The flow of unearned money at first created the illusion of improved material well-being of the workers, but in fact it leads to the opposite. The state has to resort to the printing of money, that is, the issuance of notes that are not backed by commodities. And this means that the shortage of goods and inflation processes are aggravated and the ruble is devalued.

Are the overall sums of these payments large? Yes, they are. In the first quarter monetary incomes increased by 16 billion rubles. The wage fund in the national economy exceeded the calculated amount by 4 billion. This is unearned money. Let us emphasize: wages increased more than twice (!) as rapidly as labor productivity did. This has never happened before during all 3 years of the five-year plan.

There are many reasons for this. We shall name one, although perhaps it is not he major one. Frequently the enterprises and organizations artificially increase their workers' wages simply in order to keep them from transferring to cooperatives. There, as we know, the earnings average twice as much and also, it must be emphasized, they do not correspond to the labor productivity.

These facts were presented at the meeting. Payments in scientific organizations of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry increased during the year by no more or less than a factor of 15! Has the return really increased on such a scale? If you analyze the work of the branch you will not say that it has. And on the whole, wages in the country's scientific institutions that have been changed over to cost accounting increased by 650 million rubles. And here is what is interesting: wages have increased by an average of 25 percent, while the number of inventions, conversely, has decreased.

In certain cases workers have received several dozen salaries in a year. For instance, in the Monolit planning and construction association there is a person who received 80 salaries in a year (1,800 rubles a month). Nobody, of course, is against high earnings—let them have 100 salaries—but they should make the corresponding contribution.

In the Central Scientific Research and Design Institute for Standard Experimental Planning of Complexes and Buildings for Culture, Sports, and Administrations, the payments to the manager of one of the architectural planning shops increased from 632 rubles per month in 1987 to 2,350 in 1988. One wants to ask: Are these rates fair? And what kind of cost accounting is that which allows such metamorphoses?

Recently, in violation of existing provisions, enterprises and organizations have been using for material incentives money from funds that were not intended for payment for labor. And they also use various other "cunning" methods so that it is not so obvious that they are using these funds. For instance, the enterprises pay for the apartments of their workers, pay their income tax, and so forth. And these payments are made not from the material incentive funds—which in general would be understandable, for the collective has earned the money and has a right to dispose of it. No, the payments are made from other sources.

"Here," noted N.I. Ryzhkov, addressing B.I. Gostev, "we have disorder in the expenditure of the enterprise funds and arbitrary interpretation of the instructions. Are the financial agencies checking on this?"

"Poorly."

"Not a single ruble can be taken without the permission of the bank workers. We need strict control. Who will provide this if not you?"

"In the local areas there is now a lot of euphoria from laws that offer the enterprises independence. Bank workers are afraid of encroaching on the law. The more so since we are being criticized from all sides.... But of course the control must be efficient."

The unrestrained growth of wages that do not correspond to the labor contribution is a serious destabilizing factor in our current economy. This is why the USSR Council of Ministers decided to adopt additional concrete measures which would eliminate the possibility of receiving unearned money and would strengthen the time between labor and its results.

Lost Billions

For how many years or, rather, decades have we talked about the impermissible growth of incomplete construction and the immense supplies of uninstalled equipment? And what about now? The volume of uninstalled equipment is increasing by 14 billion rubles a year. This means another 14 billion rubles have been placed in the warehouses. And approximately the same amount of equipment has been waiting to be installed for more than a year. It is not producing anything, either, but it is entered in a different column. The volume of incomplete construction has increased by 30 billion rubles over 3 years, and exceeds 150 billion....

This critical situation was judged harshly at the meeting of the Council of Ministers. Today enterprise leaders are saying that they cannot spend the money they earn. But for some reason these funds are not being used for construction, but are taken from budget allocations and frequently "buried in the ground." People would probably not do this with their own money. But why is incomplete construction stubbornly increasing in spite of measures undertaken by the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan [State Planning Committee]?

Mainly because of construction projects whose estimated cost does not exceed 4 million rubles. These do not have to be accounted for. The number of these construction projects has increased by 1,000.

Another reason: Buildings are standing empty—there is no equipment for them. Our plants have not manufactured it. And imported machine tools, conversely, are lying around waiting until a building is built to house them.... Today we have accumulated 4.6 billion rubles' worth of uninstalled imported equipment. It is impossible to understand: We speak about the economy and the country's serious financial condition, and here is this sum! And in addition to this there are the products that are not being produced by this equipment. In what amount? Who knows—such statistics are not kept.

Yes, the discussion in the Council of Ministers was heated. But still I should like to note: This is far from the first such discussion. One can no longer count the number of discussions—heated or less heated; one cannot count all the decrees that have appeared in the press, including in TRUD, but where, one asks, are the real measures? Nobody is guilty, nobody is responsible, it is as though nothing special is happening.... I do not think it will be surprising if the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies demands a report from the government regarding this issue.

A clear example was given at the meeting. We purchased equipment for producing caprolactam. First we allotted one place for the construction of this enterprise and then another, and then a third.... And today, more than 3 years later, the site has still not been determined. It it really impossible to select one somewhere in our immense country?

And a considerable amount of uninstalled equipment is lying around in enterprises of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry—160 million rubles' worth. Incidentally, this happens to be the branch whose leader, Minister Yu.A. Bespalov, is ready to allot currency to send a Soviet into space along with a Japanese journalist. A million, more or less.... Just another elegant gesture in the spirit of gung-ho patriotism.

And enterprises of the country have accumulated 470 billion rubles' worth of general supplies of raw material, processed materials, and other resources. If only these values could be put to use!

We have extremely diverse channels of losses. We are losing more than 4 billion each year because of halted capital construction; the death of livestock causes more than 2 billion rubles in losses; 1.5 million are lost because of defective work in industry and construction; 0.5 billion are caused by shortages and thefts; 0.7 billion are caused by losses during transportation.... We are losing a total of about 25 billion rubles a year.

This is not counting losses from poor management. Here is an example. We are curtailing deliveries of mineral fertilizers to the Ukraine, selling them abroad, and buying grain there. Would it not be more advantageous to use these fertilizers to increase our own grain production?

"I ask for only one thing," said V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. "Do not reduce the deliveries of mineral fertilizers. We do not need more; just give us what we had...."

And here it becomes clear that on our eastern border there have accumulated about 1,000 railroad cars filled with mineral fertilizers that are being sold abroad not by the state but by the kolkhozes [collective farms] and various organizations. They buy them from the state and then, in order to acquire foreign currency, they go to the foreign market and sell the fertilizers without considering either state interests or the fact that the foreign transportation network is incapable of handling such large cargo flows. In the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers people are already waiting in line for licenses to sell products while the Ukraine does not have enough of them.... Is this commerce in the interests of the people? Is this the enterprising nature of the socialist businessman?! Then what do we call this anti-state, anti-people practice?

And one can site a number of cases like this. Well, should each one of them be examined in the USSR Council of Ministers? The question, of course, is rhetorical. A person should be interested in managing efficiently, and the law is called upon to protect state interests. Only then can we achieve success.

Goods and Prices

At the meeting a program of large measures for sharply increasing the production of nonfood consumer goods was presented. Its implementation will make it possible to take an important step toward overcoming the deficit. The year 1990 should be a turning point in this respect. All national economic complexes are busy solving this problem. In the shortest possible period of time it is intended to carry out a deep restructuring of heavy industry branches in favor of the consumer market, and to use all available free area for producing consumer goods.

Of course the implementation of the program will require a good deal of effort on the part of ministries, departments, republics, oblasts, and enterprises. Taking into account the critical situation in the consumer market, it will apparently be necessary at first to use administrative levers in addition to economic ones. Although in any event everyone should understand that we have no other path open to us; we must make a breakthrough. And so it is even stranger that a number of enterprises have begun to close down necessary productions—more than 30 facilities at leather plants, at a number of chemical plants.... They blame mainly ecological problems. But the simplest thing is to close them. Is this really the solution? It is necessary to make the enterprise ecologically safe—this is the normal path.

One of the speakers suggested granting the enterprises complete freedom of action on the basis of purely economic relations—let them produce whatever goods they wish to, at whatever price they want to charge.

S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council], categorically objected to this suggestion.

"We must undoubtedly proceed further along the path of economic reform," he said. "But it has nothing in common with economic anarchy. Under current conditions—conditions of great deficit—it is necessary to radically increase discipline and responsibility, both for the adoption and for the fulfillment of assignments for producing consumer goods. Right down to the strictest measures. After all, a number of cities have already reached a point where the most necessary inexpensive goods are not available—knives, forks, stools, toothpaste....

At one time a decision was made: Orders for the production of goods for children and the elderly at lower prices were given to their enterprises by the republics themselves. And this is quite natural; it is more apparent in the local areas precisely which goods are needed. But unfortunately, in many republics, for example in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Uzbekistan, and a number of other republics, this matter was handled very poorly—the state order was practically not assigned to the enterprises. And many of them are continuing to curtail the production of inexpensive children's goods and goods for the elderly at lower prices. And yet the state has allotted a half billion rubles from its budget to subsidize these enterprises especially so that they will produce these goods, but this are being held back.

As a result, the country is reducing the output of certain inexpensive items for children and the elderly. The output of school shoes at a price of less than 8 rubles (size 32-35) has decreased as compared to 1987. And coats for elderly people also. It is embarrassing to admit that one coat is produced for every 50 people! When determining the order republic leaders should proceed primarily from the needs of the people and not simply be driven by the plan and profit.

"We are not implementing," said S.A. Shalayev, "the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning strengthening state price discipline. In the first quarter they essentially continued to increase without control. The USSR State Committee for Prices does not influence these processes. For example, this decision was made: Goods with the index "N" could have a markup of no more than 15 percent of the retail price. But in reality it is 30 percent. Frequently, to the detriment of the production of inexpensive goods, they increase the output of costly items, including those with the "N" index. Enterprises have gained millions of rubles in the "game" with prices. Therefore the question has to be

posed this way: Either the state imposes order here, or wages, pensions, and stipends must be increased to stay in line with prices. I think that the government has the capability of imposing order in this situation by holding the USSR State Committee for Prices more strictly accountable in this matter and enlisting people's and workers' control more extensively."

N.I. Ryzhkov:

"And yet some people reproach us for not letting go of price control, saying that it is impossible to deepen the reform until we do.... But I definitely think that for now we must hold price issues tight in our hands, for otherwise there will be immense inflation."

Responses from the hall:

"Right! Control is necessary!"

And from the noise that rose up in the hall it was clear that this issue bothers everyone....

Effectiveness of Trade Unions Questioned

18280122 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 May 89 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Auzan, candidate of economic sciences: "What Do We Need the Trade Union For?"]

[Text] According to the Law on Elections in effect, trade unions received the maximum quota of 100 deputy seats, thus claiming an important place in the new political system. The presence of trade unions is felt much less in the processes of restructuring. The winds of change altogether blew past the mighty cliff of "the organization with the greatest membership" for a long time. Is this not the time to discuss its real situation? Moreover, there is a reason for it: The country is approaching the first Congress of People's Deputies.

Support and Facilitate!

In the memorable time of stagnation, someone found a fitting image describing the exact situation of the trade unions in our previous social system. They were likened to a granny in the family who fusses a lot, interferes in everything, but to whom nobody listens.... From the time the trade unions switched to withholding membership dues automatically, the scope of their powers became altogether incomprehensible for many people.

However, the question itself did not go away. It is still acute: What do we need the trade union for? To guarantee social benefits? However, such guarantees are quite conceivable (and in some countries exist) without any connection with trade union associations. To distribute goods and services in short supply? This is handled by the ration-card system, the existence of which we are sort of failing to notice. To provide housing, slots at day-care centers? Should we not give greater opportunities in this matter to the municipal self-management organs? To set up joint excursions and "get-togethers?" It is hardly worthwhile to maintain a hierarchical staffed apparatus for this purpose.

Also, there is "the defense of the interests of toilers," or, as they used to put it in the years of stagnation, "taking care" of their interests (which quite fits the image of "the all-union granny").

We do remember well how vigorously the trade unions "took care" of our labor interests. We remember "the black Saturdays" [mandatory work on one Saturday a month], recurring last-minute rush work, and transferred days off....

As soon as the first signs of changes in the internal life of collectives came, the already indefinite role of trade unions became altogether incomprehensible. To be sure, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] tried to find a worthy role for itself, and it did find it: the role of "the organizer" of all kinds of new associations and social bodies. Luckily, there was plenty of work in this sphere—councils of women, councils of veterans, the STK [Labor Collective Council] (where people have not caught the wind themselves), MZhK [expansion unknown].... Now they are handling consumer societies. However, the vigorous setting-up activities are coming to an end, and one has got to think about what comes next. "Managing" new organizations? The organizations themselves are not agreeable to such a prospect....

So, at this difficult time the trade unions submitted to the public a program of future activities. I will admit honestly: The election platform of the AUCCTU "Struggle for Restructuring, for the Interests of Toilers" turned out to be much better than could be expected. The wording was resolute, and statements on many acute problems of concern to the public were positive.... There was but one hitch—the trade unions were still ready to engage in anything at all—to support, facilitate, and promote. What about independent activities involving the issues which nobody can solve except for the trade unions?

Strikes and Other "Trifles"

Let us face up to the historic reality: The development of trade unions in the USSR has proceeded "a ·ding to Trotskiy" rather than "according to Lenin." omplete takeover by the state has transformed this organization into a "servant of the state" concerned with maintaining mass calm and imitating "mass support" rather than defending the interests of toilers.

At present, this is not manifested that clearly. However, we are still far away from the idea of Lenin on the role of trade unions under socialism. They have not become an instrument of "non-class economic struggle" in the sense of struggle with the bureaucratic perversion of the Soviet apparatus.

Taking our long and tragic experience into account, who is going to deny the need for such defense now? The presence of protective structures is one of the necessary elements of the rule-of-law state.

At present, who fails to acknowledge the significance of economic struggle around the issues of developing our society, struggle for unifying forces against bureaucracy? Perhaps, only the latter itself.

Finally, who can ignore the urgent need for working out specific ways of solving problems which will not be solved through customary state-bureaucratic means, such as staff reductions and strike conflicts?

It turns out the trade unions themselves can afford to ignore these tasks. Having outlined in the election platform new trends in the sphere of employment, the AUCCTU restricts itself to a brief promise "to do everything to prevent unemployment." One is entitled to ask just how. By counteracting economic reforms? By all signs, trade unions are not thinking of doing that. Then how?

When economists say that unemployment is not a danger for us, they mean that there will be enough work in the country for all, and for many years to come. In principle, this is true. However, if you are fired from a research institute in Moscow, then this is no longer "in principle." In that event, a report saying that, say, in the city of Labytnangi there is an acute shortage of personnel in the service sector would give you little solace (if not come across as a camouflaged threat).

The issue of employment should be solved specifically, taking into account one's profession, qualification, place of residence, composition of the family.... Present-day job placement bureaus are definitely incapable of that. They have been specializing long and hard in pushing through the departments of personnel "graduates" of the LTP [Preventive Treatment and Labor Facility] and people of that ilk. There also is "the Lipetsk experience" which was widely advertised 2 years ago. Over there, they used internal affairs organs widely for combating parasites. They also wanted to extend this system to the graduates of the PTU's [vocational-technical schools]. Could we perhaps do without the militia in an issue as delicate as the placement of millions of people?

There is also a program of state economically accountable centers which would accumulate information on labor supply and demand by maintaining contacts with enterprises. What are we to do about democracy in these issues? After all, we need to ask millions of people about their preferences. We need to ensure public announcements on vacancies, the fairness of competitive hiring, and independent evaluation of professional qualities, create a system of vocational retraining, guarantee benefits due to temporary unemployment.... I do not see who could solve all these problems except for the democratic professional organizations of toilers themselves.

Now for the struggle with bureaucracy which the trade unions are undertaking to wage. Struggle is what it is. Various means are used in the course of it. It is no secret for anyone that strikes occur in our country. The very notion of "strike" has always been associated with the notion "trade union" the world over. In turn, this term does not even appear in the platform of our trade unions. Could it be that it is coded in the combination of words "labor conflicts?" The trade unions are undertaking to resolve them fairly and in a timely manner proceeding "from the interests of toilers, resolutely, and in a principled manner."

This could be. However, for some reason I have never heard about our trade union leaders urgently traveling to an area of, say, a strike conflict, and acting there as intermediaries in the talks between the toilers and the state organs, and securing not even compliance with the demands, but just a compromise agreement. Instead, I have happened to hear other things. For example, how the head of Soviet trade unions spoke about the events in Nagornyy Karabakh in his speech at the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Surprising as it is, the minister of internal affairs took a softer line on the same issue....

If there are strikes, they have got to be regulated legally. A law on strikes is necessary. Passing it does not at all amount to encouraging strikes. It is just that in the absence of legal regulation the strikes turn into a source of anarchy and arbitrariness. Drawing a distinction between legal and illegal strikes will make it possible to channel the explosive power of labor conflicts in the direction needed. Who should show the initiative concerning such a law if not deputies of the trade unions?

Here is one more question which undoubtedly falls within the jurisdiction of trade unions. This is the issue of social justice. We cannot say that it has been sidestepped in the election platform. However, for some reason the authors of the platform are prepared to fight for social justice both in conjunction with abuses in cooperatives, and through reinforcing workers' control in trade and services. In a word, they are ready to fight for it anywhere except in their domain.

Differences in the availability of social funds in various industries and enterprises entail great problems. The policy of using auxiliary farms, the use of one-third of hard-currency accumulation to purchase consumer items, the practice of restricted-access sales at enterprises—all of this may become a source of additional social tension, if it is not to become the subject of a public and open debate to begin with. Talks between industry-wide unions and plant organizations may be needed which would establish the legality and fairness of distributing assets in short supply.

The issue of retirement benefits, traditional in trade union activities, is also in need of a fresh approach. Indications are that the trade unions would not mind to

"toss" a R10 bill or two to the retirees, and even to protect retirement benefits from inflationary depreciation. The trade union deputies intend to approach the development of the new Law on Retirement Benefits with this in mind. The problem, however, is that the same old restriction is likely to be inserted in the new draft: well below the average wage.

Let us think about this. Contrary to the stereotypical image of the past years, the needs of a retiree do not decline compared to a working person. On the contrary, they increase. For the first time, a retiree has spare time for cultural leisure, communication with others, genuine and strong contact with nature. And his income goes down! In this manner, we guarantee sad results of the course of life not only to tens of millions of retirees, but also to all toilers ahead of time. We are planning a bankruptcy of sorts, and we do not even notice this! Maybe, trade union deputies should consider the issue of an altogether new system of organizing the provision of retirement benefits, using foreign experience in the process?

A Remedy for Paralysis

There is an expression which the entire world knows well: "trade union movement." Go ask our citizen what it means if applied to his own country. This will definitely puzzle your fellow citizen. Movement to where? Movement in favor of what? To my mind, the trade unions need urgent, radical organizational reforms aimed at setting up a live trade union movement instead of ossified supervisory managerial structures.

The issue of trade union membership should be the first one to be tackled. At present, it is actually comprehensively mandatory. I am aware of several cases when trade union dues were automatically withheld by the payroll office from the wages of people who...had never joined the trade union! Incidentally, a similar issue was resolved in the course of transition to the NEP [New Economic Policy]: Mandatory membership in trade unions was canceled because it was exactly the passive ballast of "the organization with the largest membership" that served as the firm base for bureaucratic deviations in the trade unions.

Let social security contributions continue to be withheld automatically. Let the trade unions manage these funds. However, there should be nothing automatic about the membership and the payment of dues. Enough of paying tribute to the trade union bureaucracy! Membership should be voluntary and conscious. In that event, the organization will have to gain popularity. All the functions not proper for the trade unions which have "stuck" to them in the previous decades will have to be handed over to "where they belong," primarily to labor collectives. Organization by professions (rather than by industries!) appears to me to be the most reasonable foundation for trade union activities. The air traffic controllers of Moscow have already recognized the need for such an association....

At this point, we approach the most difficult issue: How do we create "the organization of toilers with the largest membership" in which interests of the apparatus would not suppress the interests of toilers proper? International experience offers several variants.

The Hungarians have come up with perhaps the most peaceful one. Having learned the lesson of the Polish crisis, they set the course for "the new trade union democracy" in the early 1980's. The secret of overcoming the paralysis is extremely simple—creating competition in the trade union apparatus by organizing two alternative systems of representative organs in a unified (and only) organization. We should give this some thought. To be sure, I am afraid that we have already passed the moment in history when we could have been successful in a pursuit of this kind. The crisis of the trade unions has gone too far. Nonetheless, we should (and will!) arrive at abandoning the monopoly position of the trade union hierarchy. New organizational principles are a vital necessity.

Are you not surprised by the fact that we know but one "right" organizational principle—the great and famous principle of democratic centralism? Having borrowed it from the party statute, where it absolutely belongs, we are trying to apply it everywhere all the time: in state and economic management, in the operation of cooperatives, in the practice of social organizations. As it is, there are also other principles, for example, the principle of federalism.... Some people may be surprised to find out that Marx altogether denied the need for centralism in trade unions. He believed that "an organization built on the basis of centralism is proper for secret societies and splinter movements, but it runs counter to the essence of trade unions."

I am profoundly convinced that the issue of carrying out trade union reform as soon as possible is one of the key questions of our development. Ensuring the positive nature of the revolutionary process in our country will largely hinge on resolving this issue properly. I wish we would not miss the right moment....

Coal Union Chairman Favors Right To Strike

18280126 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 May 89 p 2

[Interview with M.A. Srebnyy, member of the AUCCTU Presidium and chairman of the Coal Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee, by A. Pankov: "A Strike Law Is Needed"; date and place not given]

[Text] "Had someone told me as recently as 5 years ago that strikes would begin in our country, I would not have believed them. Now they are writing about this in all the newspapers... However, I have not read anywhere about the position of our trade union leaders. What do they think about these conflicts?"
[Signed] V. Yegorshin, Donetsk Oblast

Member of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Presidium, M. A. Srebnyy, chairman of the Coal Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee, responds to the reader's question:

[Pankov] Despite the fact that the letter does not specifically single out any industry, we decided to go to you in particular, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, because many acute conflicts have recently arisen in the coal industry. Besides, you have had personal experience communicating with the strikers. This is also significant in assessing the phenomenon objectively. How many workers have already gone on strike in your industry? What are the reasons?

[Srebnyy] According to our data, in the first 3 months of this year, there have been 11 strikes in which 609 persons participated. Ultimatum refusals to exit the mine have lasted from several hours to 3 days.

The demands were mainly financial, and involved quotas, tariffs, pay for forced layoffs, and for work during the evening and night shifts. People are irritated by the still poor material and technical supplies. In some cases, the workers raised the issue of removing enterprise managers and social organizations leaders.

[Pankov] You would agree with me that these problems occurred before, but it did not come to strikes. Characteristically, they often go on strike in the best-performing enterprises, where earnings are higher, and work and living conditions are better, rather than in enterprises bringing up the rear. What is the reason?

[Srebnyy] When bourgeois correspondents asked me before why Soviet workers do not go on strikes I responded: Who were they to strike against? Both the minister and the general director were members of the same trade union. Many managers were elected to trade union committees at all levels, where most problems were resolved together. In special cases, commissions for labor disputes handled this. However, in the absence of genuine glasnost and democracy many problems were apparently swept under the rug, piled up, and now they have broken into the open.

Certainly in some cases obvious grabbing and attempts to use our common difficulties to one's own ends occur. Still, most of the demands are of a different nature.

The point is that the conditions for operations have changed, and economic accountability and the Law on Enterprise have appeared, and the collectives want to use the right to solve economic issues on their own which was given to them. However, in many cases they are not successful in doing that...

In a word, people often resort to this extreme measure which is generally undesirable for all concerned because nobody cares to resolve the dissatisfaction mounting inside the enterprise locally, with the resources available. Strikes express a contradiction between the emerging economic relations in production and old command-bureaucratic actions of the management, accompanied by the passivity of trade union leaders. The analysis of a strike at the "Severnaya" mine, and in other places too, shows that trade union committees have been smothered and transformed into an appendage of the management and party organs. They have long forgotten that they are within their rights not only requesting, but also demanding.

The strikes have shaken both the directors and the trade union leaders. The strikes are teaching them to solve the problems arising in a new manner. Still, strikes are trouble, strikes cause losses for everyone.

[Pankov] What conclusions have the leaders of the central committee of trade unions made?

[Srebnyy] I believe that we have started fighting more resolutely for the economic demands of the toilers. We are finally becoming partners to ministries and other management organs, though this comes with difficulty. Thus, we have supported the demand of many collectives to switch to interrupted production schedules, that is, provide an opportunity to rest on holidays and days off. Understandably, the right to do this should be earned, and the output of coal should not be reduced. Previously, they were not even willing to hear about it at the ministry. Now we are in the process of negotiating for such a schedule after 1991. This is not a simple endeavor, and we have got to prepare well for it.

[Pankov] The issue of the legal regulation of labor conflicts, which bring about strikes, is now being raised. What is your opinion?

[Srebnyy] I am entirely "in favor." Incidentally, the AUCCTU has already submitted its proposals on these complex issues. We should have a clear idea of the cases in which the workers are entitled to resort to this extreme measure. After all, a majority of conflicts could have been nipped in the bud, and this opportunity should be provided. However, can we allow strikes in industries in which work stoppages would altogether paralyze the entire life of a city, region, or country? Or in cases when the strikes are caused by elementary self-seeking and egoism? Besides, I believe that this document should be extremely simple, clear, and understandable to any worker.

[Pankov] Won't the new law (or decree) be more convenient for the bureaucracy?

[Srebnyy] In this day and age, who is going to pass it in such form?

Further Reports on Georgian Republic Developments

27 Apr Conference Calls for Specifics

PM1005143989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Conference at Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 27 April G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, held a conference with representatives of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Prosecutor's Office, the Military Prosecutor's Office, the republic's Ministry of Health, and bodies of forensic medicine experts, at which serious dissatisfaction was voiced in connection with the progress made in investigating the forms and methods used against participants in the 9 April rally in Tbilisi. The categorical demand was made for a full list to be drawn up indicating the specific types of weapons and chemical means whose use resulted in the casualties, and for the appropriate conclusions to be submitted within 3 days.

The impermissibility of the presence of unconfirmed, unverified information in statements by officials was also stressed. Only reliably established facts can be given, which is something unfortunately ignored by some mass media organs, radio, and television, including central organs—which is a source of justified indignation among the public.

The report by Georgian Health Minister I.A. Menagarishvili that a group of highly skilled specialists arrived in Tbilisi 27 April from leading medical centers all over the country to give consultative assistance in organizing treatment for the casualties of the 9 April events was taken into account. The group includes: Prof G.Ya. Avrutskiy, head of the All-Union Center for Psychic Illnesses; Doctor of Medical Sciences D.N. Dzhibladze, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Neurology Research Institute; Doctor of Medical Sciences L.V. Kozlovskaya, scientific associate of the All-Union Nephrology Center; Doctor of Medical Sciences A.V. Nedostup, lecturer in the internal diseases department at the First Moscow Medical Institute Named for Sechenov; Candidate of Medical Sciences Yu.N. Ostapenko, assistant in the clinical toxicology department at the Central Institute for the Advanced Training of Physicians; S.A. Yushkov, toxicologist and reanimation specialist at the RSFSR Ministry of Health Republic Children's Toxicology Center; and Candidate of Medical Sciences A.N. Nazarov, scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Endocrinology Center. The medical specialists immediately began their examination of the casualties in Tbilisi's hospitals.

Confusion Over Massacre Persists

PM1005142389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Roman Miminoshvili, chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GRUZIYA, responding to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comments on the 9 April events in Tbilisi, under the rubric "Letters to the Editorial Office": "Questions.... More Questions...."]

[Text] On 22 April the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA returned again to the tragic April events in Tbilisi. Its special correspondent N. Belan published an article entitled "Let the Military Tell Us" which also mentions my name as the person who formulated the questions to the military leadership. As the article essentially replies to my questions, I consider it my duty to say that these answers have left me even more perplexed, although I cannot accuse N. Belan himself of tendentiousness (especially since his latest article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of 27 April, coauthored by A. Orlov, testifies to the author's objectivity).

According to the words of Colonel General I. Rodionov, commander of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District, Rodionov was against using troops against the demonstrators because, clearly and quite rightly, he did not consider them a threat. However, the opinion of the representative of the internal forces' command, Major General Yu. Yefimov, was diametrically opposed: "After all, the character of the night rally was by no means peaceful. People spoke publicly about seizing political power, overthrowing the existing system, and separating Georgia from the USSR."

Let me note that even if there were such irresponsible calls, nothing in the actions of the demonstrators, some of whom were on hunger strike, pointed to aggressiveness. Several militiamen were calmly standing in front of the entrance to Government House, and nobody threatened to lay even a finger on them.

Once again the question arises here why the assessments of the political situation differ so widely, especially since Major General Yu. Yefimov, who had arrived literally the day before and was, naturally, less well informed than the command of the Red Banner Transcaucasan Military District, took it upon himself to assess the character of the rally in such categorical terms. And it is totally incomprehensible, going by Yu. Yefimov's words, why a program on local television in which he was taking part was broken off, and who was responsible for this.

Yu. Yefimov denies that any gases with the exception of the pungent tear gas "cheremukha" were used, he does not mention the use of another gas (which has been established by medics), or the sharpened spades. Nor does he say a word about the crude violation of international law—the use of force against hunger strikers who may be influenced (but not by force) only by a doctor or

a cleric. Nor has the physical damage inflicted by soldiers on representatives of the authorities—the militia—who were trying to do their duty and protect people, mainly women and the defenseless hunger strikers, been mentioned.

Who is to provide an answer to these questions? Most probably the organs of the prosecutor's office and the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium commission, in which Academicians and USSR People's Deputies A.D. Sakharov, D.S. Likhachev, and R.Z. Sagdeyev are to take part, as reported earlier. We hope that we will receive exhaustive, competent answers to all these questions. As yet it is necessary to raise them over and over again, since disinformation is still getting through even via the official TASS channels.

Georgians Brief Moscow Newsmen

PM1005155589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[KOMUNISTI special correspondent David Machavariani and ZARYA VOSTOKA special correspondent Vitaliy Tsereteli report on 27 April Moscow press conference: "Help Is Needed; News Conference Organized by the Georgian Union of Journalists in Moscow"]

[Text] A news conference devoted to the tragic events in Tbilisi on the night of 8-9 April was held at the "Mziuri" cultural center in Moscow 27 April. The conference was conducted by Nikolay Cherkezishvili, chairman of the Georgian Union of Journalists and editor of the newspaper KOMUNISTI. Taking part in the news conference were Nikolay Chavchavadze, director of the Georgian Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute; Zaza Kakhiani, rector of the Tbilisi Institute for the Advanced Training of Physicians; and Eldar Shengelaya, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Board of Georgian Union of Cinema Workers.

The news conference opened with the screening of a video tape showing the events themselves and victims giving evidence. The news conference drew attention to the impermissibility of the spreading of disinformation and false interpretations of facts and events in the central news media, which are evoking the displeasure of the public.

People listened with special attention to a statement by Zaza Kakhiani, who drew a rather gloomy picture of the situation which has taken shape in the city as a result of the poisoning of people with gases. The number of those requiring medical assistance has topped 1,000, yet doctors still do not know precisely what toxins they are dealing with. Therefore one of the main aims of the news conference was to focus public attention on the lamentable position of those have been affected by the poisonous gases. Effective, specific drugs are needed to bring about their complete recovery. "Help us to obtain them!" This was the recurrent theme in the statements made at the news conference. Those who spoke appealed to Moscow journalists, conveying this request not just on behalf of the victims and their families and friends, but essentially on behalf of all the inhabitants of our republic.

After the meeting journalists were able to chat to Otar Vardzelashvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers, USSR People's Deputies Zurab Tsereteli and Shalva Amonashvili, and Georgian Supreme Soviet Deputy Guram Mirianashvili and others.

Gumbaridze Meets With Residents

PM1005160789 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meetings and Talks With Working People"]

[Text] G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, continued his meetings with Tbilisi working people 28 April. He visited trade and service sphere enterprises and institutions and talked to clients and workers at these establishments, asking housewives their opinion of the state of trade and services before the holiday. An interesting discussion took place on ways to overcome the crisis in the republic and to resolve pressing problems in the economic and spiritual life of the people, which have so far not been given due attention. Constructive proposals were put forward on how to mobilize forces for this purpose and rally and consolidate all strata of the population during this difficult time for the republic. The population was briefed on the work of the commissions set up in the republic to investigate who is to blame for what happened 9 April and supervise assistance to the population of Adzharia, stricken by landslides, avalanches, and mud flows, and its evacuation to safer areas.

On the same day topical questions pertaining to the city's socioeconomic development and its infrastructure were discussed at the Tbilisi city soviet executive committee with a view to meeting the city population's requirements as fully as possible within the limits of available resources and possibilities.

G.G. Gumbaridze was accompanied by B.D. Makharashvili, first secretary of the Tbilisi Georgian Communist Party City Committee.

Red Cross Aide Arrives in Tbilisi

PM1005165589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Ready To Give Assistance"]

[Text] G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, received D.D. Venediktov, vice president of the International Red Cross League and chairman of the Union of the Red

Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 28 April. Venediktov has arrived in the republic to clarify what assistance people affected by the events of 9 April require.

It was noted that the specialists sent to Tbilisi by the country's leading medical centers are providing highly skilled assistance to the sick in the city's clinics in the shape of consultations and other help. They have now been joined by military medics. Joint consultations will make it possible to make treatment even more accurate.

At the same time, the public's concern is natural and understandable. Readiness was expressed to make all forces and resources at the disposal of the Red Cross available for the prompt resolution of pressing issues. The need to brief the international medical public with the utmost objectivity and accuracy was also stressed.

Essential explanations to the talks participants were given by I.A. Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, and S.P. Amiridze, chairman of the Georgian Red Cross Society.

'Prestigious' Experts To Be Invited

PM1005165789 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Apr 89 pp 1,3

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meeting at Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, met 29 April with D.D. Venediktov, vice president of the International Red Cross League and chairman of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, who is in the republic in connection with the events of 9 April.

At the meeting the guest talked about the condition of patients being treated at the republic Ministry of Health's medical establishments, and about his meetings with members of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commission and at the republic Prosecutor's Office. D.D. Venediktov agreed with the Georgian SSR leadership's request and reported that prestigious experts from the International Red Cross will very soon be invited to Tbilisi for consultations with the victims of the use of chemicals.

I.A. Menagarishvili, Georgian SSR minister of health, took part in the meeting.

Stabilization Resolution Adopted

PM1005133989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "In Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has decided on measures to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution on stabilizing the political situation in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The decision which has been adopted notes that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, having examined the question of the trip to the Georgian SSR by Comrades E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy, adopted a resolution in which it instructed the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to investigate painstakingly the reasons for the 9 April 1989 events in Tbilisi and to draw the necessary conclusions. There must be an in-depth analysis of the style and methods of the organizational and political work which is being performed and of their compliance with the demands of restructuring, the democratization of sociopolitical life, and the stepping up of concern for the working people; specific measures must be elaborated and implemented aimed at raising the prestige and vanguard role of Communists and party organizations, strengthening their ties with the masses, consolidating all society's healthy forces, and ensuring on this basis the further stabilization of the political situation, the deepening of democratic processes, and the successful solution of major socioeconomic tasks. The union and republican prosecutor's office organs have been instructed to ensure the objective and impartial investigation of the circumstances which led to tragic consequences.

With a view to implementing the provisions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision and performing appropriate work on a broad, democratic basis, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to discuss at a special plenum the tasks of the republic's party organization in improving organizational and political work at the present crucial stage of restructuring, with a consideration for the provisions and conclusions set forth in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum. All preparatory work for the plenum and the spirit of discussion must be subordinated to the task of the political assessment and analysis of the forms and methods of party activity which led to serious blunders and errors and the complication of the political situation in the republic. At the plenum it is essential to elaborate a specific program of actions for the Georgian party organization for the universal assertion in party organs of an atmosphere of frank dialogue with people and of genuine concern for their urgent needs and interests, and to create every condition for the full implementation of the tasks of restructuring.

A commission from the Central Committee under the chairmanship of Comrade G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, has been formed to prepare the plenum and to make an in-depth study of the measures to restructure the style of party activity.

The commission, which represents different strata of the republic's public, has been instructed to prepare a report on the question discussed at the plenum, and drafts of the plenum's decision and the plan for specific actions to stabilize the situation and improve party political work

under present conditions. The commission has also been instructed to recruit relevant specialists, the party aktiv, and members of the public to work, and to the study and analysis of problems of party activity and the determination of ways of resolving them, seeking the maximum objectivity and scientific substantiation for assessments, conclusions, and proposals.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to ask the republic's Communists and working people to actively join in preparation for the forthcoming plenum and to send in their ideas, proposals and comments on questions relating to the agenda, so that the final assessments and measures which have been elaborated are of a genuinely collective nature and are based on the genuine will of the republic's entire party organization and the entire people.

Lordkipanidze Named New Georgian KGB Chief
PM1005173589

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 April 1989 publishes on page 1 under the headline "News Item" a 75-word report that Givi Grigoryevich Gumbaridze has been relieved of his duties as chairman of the Georgian KGB in connection with his reassignment.

Accompanying this report is a Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the appointment of Tariel Vladimirovich Lordkipanidze as Georgian KGB chairman and relieving him of his duties as deputy chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers.

Georgian TV Chief Saneblidze Released From Duties
PM0405131089 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Armaz Romanozovich Saneblidze from his duties as chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in connection with his transfer to other work.

Toxic Gas Poisoning Hospitalizes 78 Armenians
PM1005143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Sarkisyan report under the "Emergency Situation" rubric: "Is the 'Wind Rose' to Blame?"]

[Text] Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. May 6 was an oppressive day. The sky was overcast from the morning on, the atmosphere was heavy, and there was no breeze. Nothing unusual there, it would seem. It happens that nature is sometimes "out of sorts." However, it isn't phenological observations which impelled me to describe this day in May, but an emergency.

At the Alaverdskiy mining and metallurgical combine in Armenia's Tumanyanskiy Rayon there was a discharge of noxious gases—for the most part sulfurous anhydrite. Seventy-eight people were hospitalized. They included women and children. What had happened? The slopes of the sparse forest, red from copper deposits, demonstrated how destructive the "exhalations" of the rundown and outdated combine are for the beautiful landscape of Lori [ancient Armenian town]. But its effect on people's health seems to have become clear only recently.

"On 26 April," A. Adibekyan, general director of the "Armtsvetmet" association, said, "we made the decision to shut down the metallurgical and sulfuric acid shops for a major overhaul. The situation had become tense. The workers were literally unable to enter the shops because of the intense gas pollution. On May 6, after the repair work had been completed, the commission allowed production to start up. They knew at the combine that during the start-up the discharge of gases increases two- to three-fold, and of course it was necessary to consult the meteorologists about the wind direction on the night of May 7 and warn the population...."

It is hard to agree with the general director. Yes, the lack of wind that night to provide ventilation proved fatal. The totally unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighboring districts of Alaverdi city were poisoned by gas, and the victims suffered from choking, convulsions, vomiting, and dizziness. Let us say straight away that it is thanks to the doctors that the patients are in a satisfactory condition.

But let us return to defective technique of "leaving things to chance." The fact that the shops need special attention was no secret to anyone at the combine. The attitude to metallurgical and sulfuric acid production can be gauged from the fact that despite the ministry's decision the labor collective council adopted its own—to shut down production not on 1 January 1990 but on 1 July this year. Now they are hinting at the combine that some people have decided to shut down the toxic production unit and aren't fussy about how they do it. But in that case the combine's engineering service was all the more obliged to carry out serious and meticulous remedial work to prevent such an emergency.

How is the conflict to be resolved now? This is the third day that the two shops have been idle. A number of people have declared a hunger strike in front of the combine demanding the immediate closure of production. But the management of the Tumanyanskiy Rayon association's combine has been going out of its way to persuade people to turn up for work....

Politburo Commission Reviews Armenia Rebuilding
LD0705152489 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Leninakan May 7 TASS—Leninakan, the second biggest Armenian city, was hardest hit by the earthquake. Almost all the industrial enterprises and 50 per

cent of apartment houses were destroyed there. Tens of thousands of families were left homeless. The efforts of those who are taking part in the restoration of the city are aimed, in the first place, at providing them with housing as soon as possible and at ensuring the accelerated development of the social sphere.

The first results of the restoration work were analysed at a session of the commission of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on the elimination of consequences of the earthquake that was held here on Sunday. The session Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

The commission pointed out that all the building organisations had started working. 124 apartment houses, schools and kindergartens are being built, damaged buidlings are being repaired. At the same time it was stressed that during the initial stage of the restoration of the social infrastructure many items of the planned targets had not been fulfilled.

The commission regards as impermissible the fact that a number of union and republican organisations ask to postpone the date of the putting into operation of houses, schools and pre-school institutions. This is a first-priority programme, and the managers are held personally responsible for its fulfilment.

The session outlined concrete measures and charged all the main customers and contracting organisations with the task to eliminate the defects.

Azerbaijan Official on Armenia Border Dispute

PM1005153789 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[AZERINFORM report under the rubric "Rumors and Truth": "What Happened in Sadarak?"]

[Text] For some time now rumors—each one more absurd than the last—have been spreading in the republic that clashes supposedly occurred between inhabitants of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Ilichevskiy Rayon and the Armenian SSR's Araratskiy Rayon based on a territorial dispute, as a result of which people suffered and died in the village of Sadarak and in other population centers along the border and agricultural equipment was smashed. Republic, city, and rayon party, soviet, and economic organs and editorial offices have received anxious calls.

An authoritative commission consisting of senior officials of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Ministry of Justice, scientists, and representatives of the mass media visited the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic's [ASSR] Ilichevskiy Rayon, which borders on Armenia. On what grounds were unworthy attempts made to fan these rumors and gossip? An AZERINFORM correspondent put this question to A.G. Ibragimov, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department and chairman of the commission.

"I wish to say right away that all these rumors are totally groundless. There have been no conflicts or clashes on interethnic grounds in the border zone. The commission members have been told this not only by leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs in the Nakhichevan ASSR and Ilichevskiy Rayon but also by residents of the villages of Sadarak and Kyarki.

"But, in order to fully understand just what happened in the village of Sadarak, you have to recall history. As is known, the Friendship Treaty between the Armenian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Georgian SSR, on the one hand, and Turkey on the other, which was concluded with the participation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in Kars 13 October 1921, defined the borders among the Transcaucasian republics.

At roughly the same period a movement began in the republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia to create the Transcaucasian Federation, whose first stage ended in its formation in March 1922. In December of that same year the Transcaucasian Federation was transformed into the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which existed through December 1936. By virtue of the economic, political, military, and diplomatic situation which had taken shape in that region, the borders defined by the treaty of Kars had lost their original meaning and to some extent were of a formal nature. In this connection the internal borders of, in particular, the Nakchichevan ASSR and the Armenian SSR had not been finally designated on the ground.

"Therefore, during 1927-1929 the Transcaucasus Central Executive Committee Commission for Resolving Land and Forest Disputes established administrative-economic borders between neighboring republics and resolved locally all sorts of vexed questions associated with border plots of land. On the basis of those and subsequent documents the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR parity commissions which functioned at the end of the sixties submitted graphic outlines of interrepublic borders to these republics' Supreme Soviet Presidiums for approval. On this basis the borders between these republics were approved by Presidium decrees 7 May 1969.

It was only in 1985-1987 that a working group made up of representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia, with the participation of specialists of the All-Union Institute of Agricultural Aerial Photographic Geodesic Research, began designating these borders on the ground on behalf of the USSR Council of Ministers. Representatives of land-using farms and specialists and leaders of executive committees in neighboring rayons of both republics were also involved together with members of the working

group in designating the borders on the spot, and all the protocols (more than 1,400 of them) were certified by signatures and stamped with their seals.

"But since the existing borders had not been designated on the ground in good time, the population formed a distorted idea of the ownership of the land in use. And this was a cause of indignation to the inhabitants of border rayons in both republics when the border was finally designated on the ground. For it turned out that land used by more than one generation of people did not legally belong to them.

"A similar thing also happened with a plot of land at Gasangulu Bagi with a total area of approximately 100 hectares. Although this orchard is on the territory of the Armenian SSR's Araratskiy Rayon, the residents of Sadarak had used it for many years. At the end of March economic work begun there by the legal owners of that plot, by reclamation workers of the Armenian SSR's Araratskiy Rayon, was a cause of discontent to the people of Sadarak. Passions were still further inflamed after a rumor deliberately spread there that a hog-raising complex would be built on the site of the old orchard. A letter signed by the leadership of Armenia's Araratskiy Rayon states that 'on this land it is proposed to carry out reclamation and to plant fruit orchards and cucurbits.'

"In conclusion I wish to point out again that oblast and rayon organs have carried out great organizational-political and agitprop work which has helped to ease tension in the border rayon and to expose rumors and gossip."

Nagorno-Karabakh Interethnic Relations Discussed
18300569 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with A. Volskiy, chairman of the Committee for Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, member of the CPSU Central Committee, by M. Rostarchuk; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Rostarchuk] Spring has come once again to the long-suffering land of Nagorno-Karabakh, the orchards are blossoming, and the grain has been planted.... But, Arkadiy Ivanovich, does this spring promise hope of a peaceful, worthwhile life and peaceful labor or does the spring promise more tribulations? Has the fire of interethnic conflict been extinguished?

[Volskiy] Before answering this difficult question I should like to recall the tragic September days of last year. The bonfire of interethnic conflict, to which both sides added such inflammatory material as excessive ambitions and national egoism has been transformed into a general fire which is ready to take numerous victims. In essence, the flames of interethnic war were already blazing and the carnage had begun. During those terrible days several hundred homes and apartments were looted and a total of more than 45 individual houses were set afire. People died. The terrible conflicts became widespread. People lost their humanity and many simply could not see the people with whom they were speaking through eyes covered with blood. The baser emotions prevailed completely over reason. The authority of the state began to give way before the authority of the crowd.

I was already in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] at the time and saw everything with my own eyes. I dragged children out of basements, children who had been driven there by the extremists. And the people went to the union government asking for protection for their lives, families, and homes.

[Rostarchuk] What if the special provisions had not gone into effect?...

[Volskiy] If this had not happened the consequences would have been quite unpredictable both for the Armenians and for the Azerbaijanis and, ultimately, for the country as a whole. The state simply had no other choice.

[Rostarchuk] But there still are people who question the special form of control introduced by the ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Volskiy] Yes, it was very difficult to arrive at this measure. Yes, the Committee for Special Administration of the NKAO to a certain degree encroaches on the rights of the citizens and limits the authority of the oblast council, although the deputies still have all of their authority. They have halted the activity of the party obkom [oblast party committee] but, I repeat, this was the only possible measure; if you will, the most humane and democratic payment for the outbreak of violence.

[Rostarchuk] In other words, special forms of administration have been introduced in the NKAO—this is a constitutional action which is intended to provide for safety of the population?

[Volskiy] That is precisely the way it must be understood! It has never been used in our country before and we have never had any experience in it. Although it would be good if in general it were used more. But in the West, for example, in such extreme situations central administration is used fairly widely. But in any case, and this is the main thing, the residents of the NKAO think that this was a justified action and there is no doubt about that.

The Special Administration Committee began to carry out its difficult duties with a clear conscience, with clean hands, and we are trying to work in such a way that nobody would dare or even find it possible to accuse us of sympathy with either nation. We are defending the interests of all of the Karabakh people and are working democratically, on a collegial basis; the committee includes both Azerbaijanis and Armenians. We see our main task as bringing peace to the region. The military

units of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the police are engaged in protecting the one group from the other and they have essentially peace-making tasks. The union government, as we know, is responsible for the safety of all Soviet citizens and the Special Administration Committee is called upon to provide this through all available means.

[Rostarchuk] But it seems that the interethnic conflict in the NKAO is only a reflection of a complicated situation in this sphere, a particular case, as it were, taken to the extreme, but, apparently, still a particular case....

[Volskiy] I agree. The state of affairs in interethnic relations is causing more and more concern in the society for the integrity and well-being of our common home. This concern has encompassed broad segments of the population and one cannot but see it. The February questionnaire of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on social and economic problems showed that of the 200,000 questioned in various regions of the country, 70 percent noted the real possibility of the outbreak of serious conflicts in the national area where they live and 55 percent emphasized the growing tension among people of various nationalities. Here it should be noted that around 60 million people live in a strange ethnic area, that is, not among people of their own nationality. This is a serious factor.

[Rostarchuk] And it probably must be admitted that there is a certain amount of justification for this alarm, this concern....

[Volskiy] Undoubtedly, and it did not appear just today. For our multinational state interethnic relations have always been an especially sensitive sphere, and far from everything is going well as it is depicted in propaganda. Even before from time to time severe interethnic conflicts would break out, first in one place and then another. Restructuring merely lifted the veil of silence around these sore spots.

[Rostarchuk] Must we not admit that the events in the NKAO showed that the situation in this sphere is developing in a new way, is this not so?

[Volskiy] The peculiarity of the current situation lies in the fact that our country has never before encountered such heated passions. It must be stated that today not a single ethnic group in our country feels completely satisfied. Public announcements about national oppression and national injury find equally favorable soil in the Caucasus and the Baltic area, among Russians or Ukrainians or Belorussians. This dissatisfaction has begun frequently to assume the form of open conflicts. But while previously relations developed basically on an interpersonal level, in squabbles and dissension among individual groups of citizens, now we are increasingly becoming witnesses to antagonism between entire nations and nationalities. It is important to note something else as well: The parties in these conflicts have become appreciably more aggressive and irreconcilable. The development of events in a number of regions of the country has assumed a character that is clearly dangerous for a rule-of-law state—we cannot escape this fact!

[Rostarchuk] What, in your opinion, are the reasons for such strained interethnic relations? Some people blame restructuring for this, others—and these are the majority—see in these conflicts a serious threat to restructuring.

[Volskiy] On the whole the difficulties that have arisen in interethnic relations indeed do threaten the entire cause of restructuring. Therefore, unless we develop effective and rapid methods of resolving interethnic conflicts, the only possible choice for the state will be the path of legislatively justified suppression, which, naturally, nobody wants. That will be the beginning of the end of the democratic changes generated by restructuring. This, in my view, is absolutely inadmissible.

Concerning the reasons for the aggravation of the situation, I personally am bothered by the frequent assertions that today's interethnic conflicts are merely the result of our poor ideological-educational work, the passivity of party and soviet organizations and propagandists. Although these are factors, I do not think it is all so simple. During recent months the best and most talented propagandists of the party and country, including the higher leadership, have visited essentially all of the hot spots. They have boldly gone among the masses, candidly and convincingly presented their views, and uncompromisingly defended the internationalist approach to the problems. And this is correct, but it would be wrong to say that this has provided or in the future will provide for further reduction or, say, elimination of interethnic strife.

[Rostachuk] In other words, the causes lie deeper, but it would seem that they have been disclosed precisely because of restructuring....

[Volskiy] Of course. After all, one cannot deny that in the matter of the national-territorial structure of our country there is also this aspect: In many cases we are dealing with the consequences of Stalinism and the antidemocratic and antiethnic decisions concerning the destinies of ethnic groups. To recognize the unshakeability and inviolability of the country's current territorial structure means to recognize the justice and justification for the actions of the regime which in other spheres led socialism to serious deformations. And if today we are restoring historical and political justice in the relations among individual citizens, this means that we certainly must restore this same justice in relations among ethnic groups as well.

Further, I am convinced that the most serious deviations in ethnic relations arise when there are socioeconomic problems behind them. When there is a shortage of housing, food, goods, and services a situation of social

conflict inevitably arises. And in regions where there is a disproportion in the supply and demand of the work force the situation is aggravated even more, it assumes interethnic forms, or it is deliberately presented as such.

For when representatives of one nationality are given better living conditions and privileges, and another, conversely, is faced with all kinds of obstacles to the development of language, traditions, education, and professional advancement, in the group consciousness there inevitably form stable negative, single-contact psychological positions. Here appears an especially explosive psychological mechanism whereby the responsibility for personal failures is shifted to the group of "aliens," regardless of whether or not the latter have anything to do with the problems that have arisen.

[Rostarchuk] Is this the critical situation that has arisen in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Volskiy] One of the speakers at the last plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was a former member of the CPSU Central Committee, G. A. Aliyev, who tried to escape reproaches against him in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh as "unjustified and groundless." He said that during the period when he was working in Azerbaijan the situation in the NKAO was normal and stable and the indicators of the socioeconomic development of the NKAO were higher than the republic averages for Azerbaijan and Armenia. I beg to take issue with him. Here are the facts.

There were outbursts of interethnic strife before as well, both under his rule and without him. It is simply dishonest not to see this, not to mention this, but to deny it. As concerns the oblast's socioeconomic backwardness, the difficulties of the life of both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani population in the NKAO, they, frankly, are striking. In the oblast center as well as in other regions there has not been enough water for a long time. In Stepanakert, for example, it is available for an hour and a half each day. Against this background a serious sanitation situation has developed. The the occurrence of children's gastro-intestinal diseases here is higher than the republic average by a factor of 2.8, and it is many times higher than the average for the country. The same thing can be said about the childhood mortality rate. The so-called unidentified intestinal infection invades the autonomous oblast every spring. Can one really consider it normal that not only medicine but also education are in a state of complete oblivion—in all population points of the oblast, regardless of the prevailing ethnic group? One would have to be blind not to see this!

The situation is no better with respect to the population's consumption of modern industrial goods and food products—it is much lower than for the republic or for the country as a whole. It would have been possible to cite many specific figures but let us discuss the main ones. If one takes state sales (not including commission, kolkhoz [collective farm], and private trade) of meat and poultry, in 1987 there were only 7.6 kg per capita (in 1988—8.3); sausage items—1.2 kg, and this is below any minimum amount; cheese—2.6 kg; preserved meat products—one can per person (!); and eggs—only 29 per year! I would not like to aggravate the situation, but compare all this to the average indicators for the country.

The strangest thing is that the NKAO has practically not developed at all for many years. There are no wholesale trade bases, storage facilities, or refrigerated storage, and the warehouse facilities satisfy one-tenth of the demand. Commodity turnover is at the lowest level imaginable!

The former leadership of Azerbaijan and Armenia must bear responsibility for the backwardness of the oblast, the difficult situation of the population of the NKAO, the sharp interethnic conflict, and for the death and sorrow of innocent people.

[Rostarchuk] But apparently somebody had an interest in maintaining such a state of affairs. Moreover, they tried to take advantage of it to oppose restructuring that has been developing throughout the country....

[Volskiy] We assert justly and with justification that there are corrupt forces behind the scenes of many ethnic conflicts. We have indisputable proof of this, but the essence of the problem is still that, along with the "shadow economy" in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and also in Georgia, there is a "second authority" which represents and serves the interests of the corrupt segments of the population. In essence we are dealing with a certain political mutation in the form of a kind of feudalism. The "second authority" serves the "second," "shadow" economy.

In this atmosphere many socialist norms and values have been devalued, there has been an artificial substitution of a number of the basic principles of the socialist state, and national brotherhood has been placed in the service of local appanage princelings in the guise of party and soviet workers. The degree of this political disintegration is not yet fully recognized.

[Rostarchuk] Just as the extreme explosiveness of interethnic conflicts has not been recognized until recently....

[Volskiy] I would even say that never before have the authorities taken such a defensive position. In some places the situation has simply gotten out of the control of party and soviet agencies and in others it has required that they take actions that border on capitulation. It has become quite obvious that in the arsenal of party political work there are not sufficient modern methods of overcoming conflicts of this kind.

[Rostarchuk] Not only methods, but also, probably, other substantiated, nondogmatic ideological tenets, perhaps even positions? Take, for instance, the historical references to the notion that the land has belonged to one people or another for centuries....

[Volskiy] Although not everyone agrees with this, I think that these cannot be absolutized. For many centuries people were nomadic, they changed territories or they lived together. One layer of culture was placed on top of another, and to proceed from archive preconditions means to evoke another storm of discord and perhaps even bloodshed.

The land should belong to the person of today, the one who works it, cares for it, harvests the crops from it, the one who has built his home there, and lowered the remains of his loved ones into the ground. This is my personal opinion, but I am convinced of it. Incidentally, world practice convincingly shows that as human civilization develops, matters of boundaries become more and more illusory. It is not national but economic integration that dictates the boundaries of zones, districts, and departments today. And, conversely, national integration in the area of language, culture, and customs goes far beyond the limits of state structures. I think that perhaps this is the path our state will be taking.

In the NKAO, incidentally, regions and collectives are, as a rule, multinational. This is good because a people that is closed off within its own ethnic surroundings is unfortunate. This is shown by the experience of both history and modernity. Artificial isolation and self-separation from another culture is the first step to impoverishment of spiritual life.

[Rostarchuk] Unfortunately, these simple truths are ignored by people with extremist views—whether they are from the Transcaucasus, the Baltic area, or Moldavia, but it seems that the strangest thing is that incorrectly understood patriotism finds fertile soil in the mass consciousness.

[Volskiy] Lev Tolstoy's reflections on patriotism lead me to many ideas on this plane. As he correctly noted, patriotism under certain conditions can be not a noble feeling but a "psychopathic epidemic, a justification for any kind of evil or personal baseness, the last refuge for scoundrels." This occurs, wrote Tolstoy, when we have a feeling of "preference for our own state or nation over any other state or nation, a feeling that is fully expressed by the German patriotic song—'Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles....'"

When one nation considers itself better than others there is no violence which cannot be justified by this kind of "patriotism." It is this kind of intoxication with chauvinistic drug that we see so frequently today. To some people it even seems that it works for the highest interests of the nation. Now one frequently hears that we are above all sons of our nation, fighters for its interests, and everything else as well—citizens of the country, members of the party, Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League], the trade union, and so forth. But why does one contradict the other? Who forces us to make the tragic choice of which is first and which is second; which is higher and which is lower? There is not a hierarchy of values but a combination of them.

The patriot of the "small fatherland"—the republic, kray, or autonomous oblast—should thus be a patriot of the Soviet Union because his region is an inseparable part of our country. We justifiably include the growth of national self-awareness as one of the signs of restructuring. But at the same time we see that the process is not simple and sometimes it is painful. What we call national self-awareness when we examine it sometimes turns out to be national narcissism, and expertly promoted at that. And I would say that national self-awareness is thus excluded.

[Rostarchuk] Moreover, as the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and the Baltic republics show, the state and significant national groups now frequently end up unprotected politically and economically.

[Volskiy] Alas, this is so. But yet we know that there is not a single bourgeois democratic society where they permit, for example, such insulting attacks against the personalities of leading figures in the party and country as we saw in Yerevan, or against a socialist nation, as is the case in the Baltic republics, or against people with whom we live, as was the case in Baku. Nor is there impunity for such economic and political harm resulting from unmotivated strikes just as there is no such unrestrained behavior on the part of the local media. Moreover, so far we are unable to react in a worthy manner to such anticonstitutional phenomena as refusal to allow people to go to work because of their nationality.

Experience has shown that social demagogy can skillfully take advantage of the mass media and influence the masses a hundred times more effectively than with any other form of public propaganda, make fools of them, awaken evil impulses, and unleash blind hatred against restrained, truly intelligent people who think differently.

The state must not remain passive any longer; it is necessary to legally define the possibility of applying certain measures to prevent propaganda of chauvinistic and neo-racist views.

[Rostarchuk] Apparently the Special Administration Committee of the NKAO is encountering this kind of social demagogy and politically underhanded statements from the local and republic press?

[Volskiy] I must say that the majority of the population of the NKAO has accepted the benevolent introduction of the special form of administration. But there is also the opposite—lies and all kinds of provocation, evil rumors that are started deliberately, and by both conflicting sides.

In this connection I should like for the leaders of the mass media to understand that they cannot cast doubtful ideas onto the bonfire of interethnic relations. This bonfire has still not died out, and they must not fan the flames. I repeat: I think that the republic press both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan should refrain from any kind of aggravation of interethnic dissension. But so far they do not understand this either in Baku or in Yerevan. And in Nagorno-Karabakh, too, there are sometimes questionable statements in the press and on television.

[Rostarchuk] And how do people in the NKAO feel about such publications, about attempts to fan the flames of national discord once again?

[Volskiy] Taking full responsibility I can say that, based only on the facts, on information we receive constantly, and on impressions from personal meetings in villages and rayon centers—and we frequently travel through the oblasts—the simple people are tired of the sword of Damocles of new outbursts of ethnic discord. But some would not want peace to come to Nagorno-Karabakh. Therefore periodically both sides throw all kinds of fuel onto the very bonfire we have been discussing. To some people it is quite advantageous to have unrest in the region. I say once again that this plays into the hand of that "shadow authority." And we have justification for this assertion.

For the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in itself is not an economically significant region. If one were to evaluate the NKAO on the scale of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], for industry it accounts for only 1.8 percent of the republic's production volume, and for agriculture—3 percent. But all the ethnic and other contradictions are so concentrated here that the influential clans in Azerbaijan and Armenia would essentially like to transform the NKAO into a piece of small change between them. But this cannot be allowed, and the well-known ukase was adopted so that this would not happen.

[Rostarchuk] If one were to judge from today's situation, the introduction of the special form of administration of the NKAO has already produced results.

[Volskiy] Three months have passed since the Special Administration Committee began its work. And during this period there has not been a single interethnic crime in the oblast (there were 400 of them last year). We have had to resort to such an extreme action as to confiscate all weapons from the population. I shall not conceal the fact that our region was literally overflowing with weapons. Suffice it to say that we have now removed 3,500 units of various kinds of weapons, including rifles.

Many problems have to be solved from the beginning. Thus the Special Administration Committee adopted a decision to construct an oblast hospital costing R13 million. Its planning is now being completed. It will be constructed in the oblast tuberculosis facility. During 1989-1991 it is planned to complete capital repair on all medical institutions in Armenian and Azerbaijani villages and to construct a division of the oblast children's hospital. Immediate measures are being taken to improve the water supply of Stepanakert and other regions.

If one is to speak of the NKAO economy as a whole, our policy is to change over to regional cost accounting as early as the second half of this year.

Changes have been earmarked in culture and the ideological sphere. You will recall M. S. Gorbachev's speech at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 18 July of last year, in which he stated precisely and clearly that in the area of culture one cannot separate the Armenian population from Armenia or the Azerbaijanis from Azerbaijan. Now by a decision of the committee creative unions have been created in the NKAO. Good contacts have been established both in public education and in the study of the Armenian people in Armenian schools, and the same is true in Azerbaijani schools.

In brief, cultural contacts have become intensive and they are constantly conducting seminars, exhibitions, and trips. Work is being done to prepare for and publish the first issue of the oblast sociopolitical and artistic journal in the Armenian language, which will elucidate all aspects of the life of the oblast. Such a journal existed at one time, but it was closed down for no reason. We shall publish books of local authors.

A couple of days ago we considered the matter of the development of television and radio in the oblast. In 1 or 2 years we shall have to construct five relay stations in order to provide for full reception of both oblast and republic television—Armenian for the Armenians and Azerbaijani for the Azerbaijanis.

I wish to emphasize that the Special Administration Committee for the NKAO sees its primary duty as providing for a peaceful and safe life for the citizens of both nationalities. The second task, as I have already said, is comprehensive development of the oblast in all spheres.

[Rostarchuk] To what extent are the republic authorities in Baku and Yerevan helping with this?

[Volskiy] I would say that their efforts are still inadequate, especially when it comes to mutual contacts. For the committee consisting of eight people cannot solve interethnic problems by itself. This requires a real party, internationalist position on the part of both governments and the party central committees of both republics. Therefore I think that all of them should contribute more actively to the process of normalization of the situation in the NKAO. For example, the joint commission on refugees has been convened twice. Now it would appear that another one has been created, but it is working sluggishly. I would say that the republic leaders should

not play a game of ambitions, for they are being watched by other leaders as well. In any event we are calling for cooperation from everyone; this is the main thing now. We need consolidation of all forces. This, incidentally, has been discussed repeatedly by M. S. Gorbachev. But so far, unfortunately, the necessary effect has not been achieved.

On the whole I think that now in Nagorno-Karabakh we have created all the necessary conditions for a normal solution to the problems that arise. In any case, on the part of the union government; it is now up to the work in the local areas.

[Rostarchuk] As chairman of the Special Administration Committee what bothers you most now?

[Volskiy] A difficult situation has developed in agriculture. The winter drought led to a situation where 52 percent of the planted area had to be written off; the plants did not come up. Famine is threatening. We are investing all the efforts of the cities and rayons in this problem.

The second critical, perhaps the most critical problem is that in Stepanakert they will not allow Azerbaijanis to take jobs, and in Shusha they will not hire Armenians. During past weeks we have created a joint Azerbaijani-Armenian commission for work placement, and this should help. Here again the leadership should proceed not from the management but from the people themselves. The commission has already begun to operate; it has held several meetings; people are going to this commission; they want to work, to return to their jobs.

Our task is to realize the constitutional right to work throughout the oblast. Otherwise there will be no end to the disputes. But it would be naive, say, to think that this could be done in a matter of hours.

[Rostarchuk] You, Arkadiy Ivanovich, were elected a USSR people's deputy from the territorial okrug which includes five rayons of Azerbaijan SSR and the NKAO. It would seem that this is the best recognition of the work of the Special Administration Committee and your own personal contribution to the cause of pacifying passions and to the socioeconomic development of the oblast.

[Volskiy] Well, I think that this shows mainly that the population is supporting the line of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government so that life in Nagorno-Karabakh will flow into a normal channel and all problems that arise will be resolved locally and peacefully, precisely in the way that is intended.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Notes Restructuring Effects

18000946 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, by V. Burbulis and A. Kamenev: "Only a Joint Effort Will Bring Perceptible Results"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpts] The sociopolitical situation in Lithuania is hardly simple. Real opportunities for changing our life radically and purging the deformations of socialist ideology and practices through the ideas of renewal have brought out civic involvement by the citizens of the republic. They have been rallying around various informal associations supporting and reinforcing restructuring.

This is how the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring "Sajudis," the Socialist Movement for Restructuring "Yedinstvo," the "Green" movement, youth ecological clubs, and various national centers of culture were born... This activity of people should bring nothing but satisfaction! However, the party organization of the republic is facing virtually every day the tasks which call for vigorous actions in order to justify the role of the party as the force organizing society. This is the topic for the current installment of "Political Dialogue" with Algirdas Kazevich Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Four years ago, a powerful impulse was given to the process which should lead society to a qualitatively new level, make it genuinely democratic and open, and create new, more humane living conditions for people. Naturally, this impulse has affected Lithuania as well...

[Brazauskas] Indeed, democratization has released a mighty stream of ideas, initiatives, and emotions. The most active representatives of artistic and scientific intelligentsia who awoke the creative thinking of the people, their spirituality, and nurtured the idea of socialist renewal even before [restructuring], have begun to rally around various informal associations. We have always and will continue to praise these movements as the promoters of restructuring. We have and will support their positive efforts.

I will admit that these movements have made it imperative for us to reconsider the concerns and needs of the republic. We should say that a lot has indeed been done within a short period of time.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Restructuring has revealed many problems which are also very acute in other areas of our country...

[Brazauskas] ...However, in our republic they were sort of superimposed on a national element. I want you to understand me correctly. Lithuania is a very small piece of land where Lithuanians have lived since time immemorial. This is their land, their motherland. I believe it is easy to appreciate their concern for the land, the sea, the language, their culture and history to which, I would not conceal, little attention was paid, and which I would also admit, were simply eliminated from existence. This hurts any people, particularly a small one. This is why, while solving the problems of democratizing society, economic and ecological problems, we are also solving national problems, as they are very closely related. We are successful in many pursuits exactly due to the consolidation of all forces.

A concept of economic independence of the republic has been created. Due to a resolute joint effort, the construction of the third power unit at the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station has been discontinued. Much is being done to improve the ecological situation specifically. We are evaluating the past history of our land more objectively. We have denounced the consequences of Stalin's personality cult and of the period of stagnation. We have recognized mass deportations to be illegal. We have adopted and are already vigorously implementing resolutions on indemnification for financial and moral losses to the victims. Our relationship with the clergy proceeds from a good dialogue. The Vilnius Archdiocesan Cathedral, the Church of Saint Casimir, and other temples have been returned to the church. Decisions have been made on building new churches. Through a joint effort of specialists, scientists, creative arts, personalities, and the government of the republic, the Lithuanian language has been legally confirmed to be the state language of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Incidentally, before the 1936 Constitution was adopted, national languages of union republics had the status of state languages. In addition, Polish and Yiddish were state languages in Belorussia.

[Brazauskas] You see, we have not invented anything new.

Many steps have been taken together with the creative arts intelligentsia in order to ensure genuine freedom of creative work. Leaders of virtually all creative arts unions have been elected without our customary "small decrees," in a democratic manner. Literary periodicals are not censored. I believe that all of this will bear fruit in the cultural sphere.

I think you would agree with me that national symbols have been brought back to political life only due to the firm position of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR. The tri-colored flag has been adopted as the State Flag, and the "National Song" of V. Kudirka as the national anthem of the republic. I must say that legally adopting 16 February as the Day of Restoration of the Lithuanian State required a great deal of political determination. After all, the restoration of this date of historical significance to the Lithuanian people does not at all mean a return to the bourgeois order. Recently, a draft new constitution of the Lithuanian SSR was also published.

I should say that, in taking all of these steps, we are resolutely proceeding from the will of our workers and peasants, the civic initiative of the citizens of the republic, the invigorated scientific and intellectual potential. Our plans and goals were laid out clearly and unambiguously in the election platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the main concept and goal of which is the genuine sovereignty of the republic within the USSR. This means primarily an opportunity to resolve independently the issues of political, economic, social, and cultural life, and to preserve the distinct character of our people. Certainly, this is not an agenda for a day or a year.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] We must say that in letters from our readers political self-dependence is associated with national independence. Judging by the statements of some functionaries, there are grounds for this association.

[Brazauskas] Not at all. I want to stress once again that genuine sovereignty of the republic within the USSR is our concept and goal. Political self-dependence to us means an opportunity to solve economic, social, cultural, and, finally, personnel issues on our own and independently, proceeding from our interpretation and our potential, rather than on the basis of some average statistics. As of now, economic self-dependence of the republic is the most important **political** task for us.

Developing qualitatively new forms of relations of production in rural areas with a view to bringing the peasant closer to the land, and developing all forms of operations harmoniously is the second important political issue. Proceeding only from the potential of our republic, on our own we are accomplishing, and I will stress this, tasks in the social sphere such as considerably greater aid to families. We want to extend the partially paid child care leave for women, and extend leave without pay to 3 years. I consider it correct to give mothers uninterrupted tenure until the child is 8 years old, as well as to increase the benefits for mothers with many children, orphans, the handicapped, and the elderly. Unfortunately, at present I see no other way to solve all of these problems except through political and economic self-dependence. This is the essence of a more complete utilization of the advantages of socialism. This is the only way!

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] However, your accomplishments and desires are sometimes interpreted differently. In the republic, they are frequently trying to belittle, or altogether ignore them. This cannot be surprising, all the more so because the directions developed

by the Communist Party of your republic should and, by all signs, do reflect the hopes and requests of the people of Lithuania. We believe that all you have accomplished thus far has been due to joint efforts. However, the more we familiarize ourselves with the sociopolitical life of the republic, the clearer we understand that at present this cooperation is in danger. We do not think that the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party is to blame, however...

[Brazauskas] Indeed, there were numerous mistakes and inertness in the operations of our Central Committee at the first stage of restructuring.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Do you mean to include yourself?

[Brazauskas] Certainly! I have been the head of the republic party organization only since last October. However, for 11 years I worked as the Central Committee secretary in charge of economics, and still earlier I was the first deputy chairman of the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] of the republic. However, now I must say resolutely that the situation has changed greatly. We have become more principled in resolving many issues. We have begun to tap the intellectual potential more vigorously. If you will, we have become more open, accessible to the people, and have actually addressed their needs. I will repeat that we were largely prompted to do so by the activization of social life in the republic, and its democratization.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] We have frequently read and heard "Sajudis" members comfort themselves. Supposedly, unity, will, determination of the people, and favorable historical circumstances are enough to gain independence. What does this mean? Can anybody respond to the question on how this will be accomplished?

[Brazauskas] The history of politics proves that fruitful cooperation is impossible in the absence of a common goal. However, everything does not depend on us alone. At present, consolidation and united efforts are the only correct course. This is why it is important to switch from the stage of meetings to mundane, difficult and responsible work. As of today, this is the main point.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] There are enough emotions in other movements as well...

[Brazauskas] Correct. Recently, "Yedinstvo" has been making its presence more known in the course of a certain polarization of forces in the political arena of the republic. I will say sincerely that we would like to see a consolidation of these two social movements. However, thus far confrontation prevails to a great degree. The failure of many people of other nationalities to find a niche for themselves in "Sajudis" is one of the reasons "Yedinstvo" was formed.

One more point. Optimal decisions cannot be made under political pressure. The more acute a problem is, the broader and freer the discussion of it has to be. Only a democratic, tolerant, civilized discussion without imposing your opinion may reveal the actual situation, and help in making the right decision. Dogmatism always gives rise to counterdogmatism, and all sides will always find supporters. This never serves the cause of democracy and genuine pluralism of opinions, of rallying forces in the name of restructuring. All unclear points may and should be clarified given goodwill, and the problems which arise may be solved promptly, which is what we are trying to do.

In general, the extremes of particular movements, mutual confrontation are incompatible with the concern for the future of Lithuania which they profess, with consolidating the entire people in order to achieve our common goal.

In evaluating the current status of political and social life in the republic, I would like to state unambiguously that on occasion we stand quite close to the line which we have no right to cross, because otherwise we will wipe out all accomplishments of restructuring. Our children and grandchildren, and also all sober-minded contemporaries will not forgive us for that. Ultimately, this is not something which concerns only us. I believe that I speak for all Communists of Lithuania when I say that we are in favor of genuine sovereignty of the republic within the USSR only. The interests of our sovereignty should be harmoniously combined with the interests of the entire Union.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Under such circumstances, some of the vigorously disseminated myths altogether smack of political adventurism. As far as we know, all kinds of cock-and-bull stories abound on the supposedly promised Garden of Eden in the event Lithuania secedes from the USSR. What is your attitude?

[Brazauskas] Negative. One has got to talk to the people honestly. Pardon my sharp words, but you cannot speculate on the feelings of people. You cannot foster unhealthy attitudes.

I would like to remind you of the creative work of Vintsas Kreve, Pyatras Tsvirka, Yuozas Baltushis, and our other remarkable writers. They paint a very authentic social picture of this time to those who now write and speak in a biased manner about prewar Lithuania. The prewar economy of Lithuania should not be either belittled or idealized. We need an objective approach. There were relatively affluent strata, but an overwhelming segment of the populace got by with the greatest difficulty. Many went to work as farm hands to neighboring Latvia and Estonia. Incidentally, among these republics Lithuania ranked third. Thus, comparisons with the developed countries of that time are not sufficiently

balanced. We should not be under a delusion. Otherwise, some people, particularly the young, may be left with the impression that indeed that time was heaven.

As far as the supposed Garden of Eden, in the event Lithuania secedes... All of this is a myth. It is sustained by the hope that Western states will provide large-scale and, most importantly, "disinterested" help to us. However, as the practice of life has shown, and as foreign specialists themselves state, commercial and economic partnerships are never, and will never be advantageous for the weak, and this unfortunately is what we are. Thus far, we are not competitive in the Western market. Individual products do not count since they do not determine the entire picture. We should not forget that we have no raw materials, energy, or fuel of our own. At this point, I would like to say that even now restructuring makes it possible to cooperate directly with foreign companies. However, we may be equal partners only if we are politically stable, and have the economic guarantees ensured to us by being within the USSR.

The general desire to live better is understandable. However, no strangers will create this life for us and give us special benefits. This is why such real steps as the opportunity to begin economic operations on our own are a necessary stage in order to lay the foundation for a new economic mechanism without reducing the existing standard of living, the one we have and the one all of us vigorously criticize. As the experience of the world has shown, the policy of "great leaps" has set back many states already. One can count on success only if he is guided in real political life by specific goals and the present reality rather than illusions. [passage omitted]

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] We think you will agree that the press has made a great contribution to the processes which have been taking place in our country in the last 4 years. The republic press, especially at the first stage of restructuring, helped the public to perceive the worst vices of stagnation, inertness, obsolescence, and bureaucratism more graphically and acutely, and taught glasnost and democracy. The processes of political, spiritual, and national renaissance have fostered a variety of opinions in the mass media. However, recently the republic press has been accused of one-sidedness and skepticism in evaluating the events of the recent past, as well as contemporary events. What is your attitude toward this?

[Brazauskas] This is indeed true. Public opinion is not being shaped with sufficient efficiency. Plurality of opinions is incompatible with furious attempts by some authors to negate everything that has been done in Lithuania over the years of Soviet power, and to paint the entire socialist past in dark colors.

There are difficulties in elucidating the current issues of history which do not depend on us. A principled political evaluation of treaties signed by the Soviet Union with Germany and the Baltic states cannot be postponed any longer. I believe this will be done soon. However, there are many malevolent rumors and speculations in this matter as well.

At present, the press lacks a principled approach in evaluating various social movements, and some of their planks which slow down restructuring and lead it away to other problems. We understand that only a pluralistic press may reflect a broad spectrum of social opinion, the planks of various groups and movements. However, we should channel this multifaceted variety of opinions in a constructive direction which would help to pursue consistently the main goals of restructuring and social renewal.

At this point, continuing my train of thought concerning the responsibility of communists, I would like to say something about the responsibility of editors and journalists who are party members for the future of restructuring, for social stability. Some do not interpret this responsibility in the manner called for by party discipline and the duty of a communist. Some people lack a principled approach and a clear-cut position. Some are prone to the pursuit of being sort of trenchant at the expense of the truth. Therefore, hesitancy is apparent in some publications. Their assessments are not clear and constructive enough.

We had to recall the Leninist principles of managing the press. We must say that some rayon and city party committees simply forgot about the editorial offices of their newspapers, and left their operation to their own devices. However, journalists may only present the position of a party committee objectively if they have party committee information. Unfortunately, the journalists are still experiencing a shortage of party information. This is why they are vulnerable to the influence of other forces. There is not enough consistency and direction in their work. As a result, criteria shift, vain discussions are dragged out, and extreme assessments are made which do not promote the development of active thinking by readers, and do not help people to get their bearings in the contradictory contemporary situation.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Do you personally meet with journalists and make statements through the press, radio, and television?

[Brazauskas] Every Friday I have my own several dozen minutes on the radio. You know, I worked as the Central Committee secretary in charge of economics for 11 years, and... I did not make a statement once, but now... What can I say, our life used to be comfortable. We ourselves did not make an effort to get to the station, and we were not invited there anyway. That was the order. Only now are we beginning to understand that this was a faulty order. After all, this is a norm of party life. Party leaders of a republic, a city, or a rayon are simply obliged to speak up in the press, and on the radio and television. We should not let go of the airwaves. After all, this is a

most important medium for publicizing your views and positions, for familiarizing people with the decisions proposed, and with the issues on which we are currently working. However, you must be convinced that your cause is right. Otherwise, people will not understand you. People will always understand a clear, convincing explanation, and will always be able to sort out who is right, who is a realist, and who is only after cheap popularity. All of this benefits the party and the people. [passage omitted]

I would like to add that our Central Committee has democratized the style of managing the mass media. Directive methods are being replaced with a dialogue. However, it should not be forgotten that the press should serve the goals of reinforcing socialism rather than promoting confrontation. Recently, many informal publications have appeared in our republic. Some of them have taken positions alien to restructuring and socialism. Many rayon and and city party committees are being lenient. This is one strange interpretation of pluralism.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] It is known that the creative arts intelligentsia has always been the sovereign of the people's spirit. Many positive processes which are under way in the republic anyway were also initiated by the intelligentsia. What views does it hold today?

[Brazauskas] The creative arts intelligentsia has given us special hope and support on the way toward national renaissance and social progress. It is exactly in the sphere of the arts that noble humanistic ideals prosper and enlighten us all, and that a continuous historic relay of spirituality takes place. It was exactly in this community that warriors of the spirit who were not broken remained even in the most difficult years. This is where the sovereignty of man, his birth right to unique thinking and feelings has always been maintained, and the right to the native language has been defended.

However, occasionally it does happen that, by looking through the prism of the feelings of a man, his suffering and losses, they cease to see historical processes, and attempt to chop off, as if with an axe, major periods of history, while operating only in terms of historic details. After all, the past amounts to a dramatic struggle for humanity, for the meaning of life, the future of one's native land. You cannot make do with just one color in comprehending all of it, but this is frequently not taken into account. Genuine zeal for the people does not involve shouting that, supposedly, one stands together with the people. After all, zeal for the people means not leading the people astray.

However, not only the creative arts but also the scientific intelligentsia should always be aware of its responsibility for the people, for the future of Lithuania, especially now, during a truly revolutionary turnaround. However, we are now registering a decline in the intensity of research work in many institutes. The editorial portfolios of scientific publications are empty. This is happening at a time when argumentative, objective statements by scientists addressed to the people are lacking in the press and on radio and TV.

As you can see, whatever aspect of restructuring we turn to, we find that man has to be the focal point of attention, and this means not an abstract scheme designed in theory, but a live, specific person with his personal history, concrete demands and interests. To be sure, the process of restructuring is under way throughout the country, and we would be wrong if we tried to separate ourselves from what is going on outside the republic. Efforts at artificial isolation have never been fruitful, and, naturally, we come out against this. At the same time, we are in favor of grasping the specifics of a particular situation and various manifestations thereof in the process of solving all problems.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Algirdas Kazevich, everything we are discussing now has been discussed at a recent plenum of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. All of its materials, all the speeches were published in the republic press without the familiar cuts. After all, many speeches have apparently drawn harsh criticism from "Sajudis," another set of labels, and even direct obstruction...

[Brazauskas] At the plenum, we agreed that materials will be published in full. Nonetheless, we asked all speakers about this prior to publication, but nobody requested that his speech be published in a rendered form. Yes, a situation has emerged in our republic which testifies to the possibility of a schism in a considerable segment of society all the way to mutual confrontation. This cannot be allowed to happen, as it destroys the very foundation of restructuring and interferes with meeting significant socioeconomic and cultural objectives. Incidentally, this is what prompted us to make quite radical decisions at the plenum.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] What decisions?

[Brazauskas] First, rally all members of the republic party organizations around the election platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in order for the unity of views on the most significant sociopolitical issues to prevail. The sovereignty of Lithuania within the USSR is the main idea of this unification.

Second, we cannot allow the varnishing of socialist reality, dominant in the years of Stalinism and stagnation, to be replaced by its reverse of the same ilk—casting slurs on everything that has been achieved in building a new life. Theoretical dismantling, which under the current conditions poses the greatest danger for the Soviet power, is not admissible either. We should make corresponding demands on Communists working in various social movements and organizations.

Finally, party committees should work more vigorously with the movements which subscribe to the positions of socialism and restructuring.

Public life is very dynamic, and it is hard to predict its consequences. However, this is what communists are for—to control the political situation in the field, explain our position and corresponding resolutions to the people in a well-considered way, and reveal the true colors of the opposition; show who is who. This is the only way!

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] There are many letters in our mail the authors of which ask with alarm: Do the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic control the situation? We believe that our interview will be the most complete and objective response to this question. Thank you for the interview!

Lithuanian Editorial Urges Support of Restructuring

PM1005164189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 May 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Spring of Hopes and Fears"]

[Text] April—the 4th anniversary of the 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. That is when restructuring began. The words with which the party addressed the people were both unusual and inspiring. We talked of a fresh wind of change and of a purifying truth. And maybe we paid less attention to the warning: "Restructuring will require courage" and "patient, dogged work." It seemed enough to simply state and talk frankly about our problems for them to...vanish like a bad dream.

Four years is not one day. We now realize what a complicated, extremely difficult task the party has taken upon itself. The course of restructuring was again clearly reaffirmed at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum. But it was also said that the changes in which everyone should have an interest are coming slowly and are being held back by the forces of inertia and stagnation.

Not only confidence but confusion and alarm, too, sometimes came across in speeches made at the plenum. There was also a nostalgia for the "order" and problem-free existence which were left behind in the prerestructuring era.

Today we are celebrating May Day—the day of the international solidarity of the working people. Solidarity in the struggle for their rights. This day is in memory of the tragedy which happened more than 100 years ago in Chicago, when dozens of workers died when their peaceful demonstration was broken up.

It is bitter and painful to speak about this, but we have all seen on our television screens and know from the tersely worded press reports that on the night of 9 April in the Georgian capital armored personnel carriers and lines of servicemen were used to break up a rally that had not been sanctioned by the authorities. They, too, were striving for "order." But human lives were the price of this.

There is nothing dearer than the stand firmly taken at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The party's dialogue with the working people is not a weakness and has not turned the CPSU into a discussion club. If weakness is conducting a dialogue with all strata of society, what is courage? People have to be mobilized and persuaded to lead restructuring and to refashion our society in the interests of the individual and all the people rather than act according to the pattern: authorize—prohibit, allow—forbid. Strength and courage lie in the ability to lead people, persuade them with the force of logic, party spirit, and commitment to socialism, unite them, and consolidate them.

There must not and cannot be any place in the party for attitudes of panic. It is precisely attitudes like these that lead to a flurry of activity in all directions, when order must be instilled at all costs. But Lenin believed that socialism is strong by virtue of the masses' awareness.

On the anniversary of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's birth we organized a subbotnik here in the republic, as did the rest of the country. Thousands of working people from Soviet Lithuania took part. The money earned that day will go toward social needs. This is an example of real solidarity among the working people rather than being just a show of solidarity. The "Greens" are holding their conference here today. The struggle for a clean environment, in which the broadest circles of the public have become involved during restructuring, is also a form of solidarity among the working people, who are defending their right to a full, healthy life and to be able to work in normal, human conditions, and, ultimately, are defending the future of their children and grandchildren.

There are still a lot of things people are not used to. Particularly initiative. Very often it does not follow permission "from above" but arises without any prompting, among the masses of the working people themselves. Therein lies the vitality and irresistible, progressive advance of restructuring.

We need a consolidation of efforts, we need people who are creative, talented, with inquiring minds, who are capable of bringing benefit to themselves and those around them. Restructuring has so far failed to produce a sharp leap forward in the economy. We are still complaining about the numerous shortages and deficiencies and the empty shelves in the stores. But we are becoming increasingly convinced that we can and must resolve these problems independently. And today our solidarity with all working people lies in the fact that we

are prepared to assume responsibility: Introduce economic accountability in the republic and—not at someone else's bidding, not "following the lead" from the center—develop glasnost and democracy and improve interethnic relations in Lithuania ourselves.

Restructuring has shaken up and in many ways changed our lives. But probably the main thing is that it is changing us. Pluralism of opinions is no longer a slogan but a reality. But you still come across people today, unfortunately, who are irritated when they meet an opinion that does not coincide with their own views. Attempts are also made to "ban" things and to order others "not to dare to have an opinion of their own." But, fortunately, they are becoming increasingly rare and powerless. Tolerance and good sense are gaining the upper hand. Discussions are not being conducted with the aid of "stern words" but with the help of cogent argument and with dignity.

May Day is a celebration of labor, peace, and hope. Today it is slightly tinged with the bitterness of anxiety. That is because the forces of stagnation and the powerful bureaucratic machine have yet to relinquish their attempts to reverse the work begun by the party. But there is also confidence that this will not happen. Because, for the party, the plans of the people have become its plans and because we are moving forward hand in hand and working together. And we leave Communists and members of the ruling party just one privilege—to be where it is most difficult. We all share the CPSU Central Committee May Day Appeal:

Citizens of the USSR! Develop public initiative and activeness in restructuring in the interests of the people and the renewal of socialism!

Lithuanian Party Examines Polish Nationals' Needs

PM0205145589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Apr 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "In Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Commission"]

[Text] A Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution created a commission under the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee to resolve problems of the republic's national groups. The first session of this commission was held 18 April and was chaired by Valerionas Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The session discussed how to improve the satisfaction of the needs of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] citizens of Polish nationality. Information on this question was provided by Roman Podagel, Lithuanian SSR first deputy minister of national education; Apolinaras Sinkyavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Yuozas Nekroshyus, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; and Aldona Chyapleyene, deputy chairman of the Vilnius City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

The State Planning Committee and several ministries and departments of the Lithuanian SSR were instructed to prepare, for the commission's next session, proposals on improving the solution of social, cultural, and other questions of the southeast regions of Lithuania.

Supreme Court Overturns 1983 Estonian Conviction

PM1005160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] As has already been reported, a USSR Supreme Court plenum has taken the decision to fully rehabilitate I.A. Khint, Kh.Ya. Tyakhiste, Ya.A. Kydar, and I.R. Ploom, unjustifiably convicted in December 1983 by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court. At the same time, the USSR Supreme Court plenum submitted a private resolution to the USSR Prosecutor General on violations of legality perpetrated during the investigation and court examination of this case.

In connection with numerous requests for the publication of this resolution, its full text is reproduced below.

USSR Supreme Court 25 April 1989 Plenum Private Resolution

Having examined the appeal from the USSR Prosecutor General on the case of I.A. Khint and others, the USSR Supreme Court plenum has established:

That the 19 December 1983 verdict of the Estonian SSR Supreme Court's court collegium for criminal cases sentenced the leaders of the "Dezintegrator" special design and technology bureau headed by Director I.A. Khint, doctor of technical sciences and Lenin Prize winner, to long terms of imprisonment for the embezzlement of state and public property on a particularly large scale, official abuses, repeated bribes and attempts to bribe, smuggling, and other crimes.

The USSR Supreme Court 25 April 1989 resolution has repealed the sentence against I.A. Khint, Kh.Ya. Tyakhiste, Ya.A. Kydar, and I.R. Ploom and they have been fully rehabilitated (Khint posthumously).

The unjustified criminal charging and conviction of innocent people was thus allowed, which is a most flagrant violation of socialist legality.

This became possible as a result of the fact that the investigation group headed by T.Kh. Gdlyan, the USSR Prosecutor General's investigator for especially important cases, in deciding the question of bringing criminal charges against Khint and the others, ignored the legal

status of the "Dezintegrator" special design and technology bureau which, in accordance with its charter and the rules about it, is a cooperative organization with broad economic independence, acting on the basis of the principles of complete economic accountability, self-financing, and cost accounting.

In the process of investigating the case, counter to the requirements of Article 19 of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Code of Criminal Procedure on the comprehensive, full, and objective study of the circumstances of the case and the revealing of circumstances which incriminate or vindicate the accused, no attention was paid to the arguments which the accused put forward in their own defense or to the fact that the special design and technology bureau leaders' actions, devoid of self-ishness or any personal interest and connected with the distribution of food and the use of money and implemented in the interests of the cooperative and the state, did not constitute a deed liable to criminal punishment.

From start to finish the investigators conducted the investigation into the case of Khint and the others with a bias toward conviction.

The fact that the investigation was conducted with a bias toward conviction is borne out by many instances whereby arguments regarding their innocence cited by Khint and the other accused at interrogations and in statements were not checked.

A special feature of this case is that the circumstances (the sale of biological dispersing agents at reduced prices and their issuing free, the adding of bonuses, and other episodes) did not need to be established because they were all recorded in the relevant documents of the special design and technology bureau. During the interrogations (Khint was interrogated 40 times) the investigators essentially sought to get the accused to acknowledge that the events were criminal (embezzlement, smuggling, official forgery, and so forth).

During the court investigation all the accused retracted this "admission" given at the preliminary investigation, not acknowledging their guilt.

The charge against Khint and the others of illegally adding and paying cooperative workers bonuses on the basis of the results of their work for 1979 and 1980 was based on the standard provision on awarding bonuses to workers within the system of the republican "Estkolkhozstroy" association approved 24 April 1973, which provided for the possibility of issuing bonuses of less than 1 month's wages. Despite the fact that in the section relating to the size of bonuses this standard provision contradicts other normative acts, the investigation organs did not clear up these contradictions and did not establish that this particular standard provision had already lost its force.

The bias toward conviction was manifested particularly graphically in the initial stage of the investigation, when no reliable proof had been collected for leveling charges and making arrests.

On 13 November 1981, at Tapa station, Khint was arrested as a dangerous criminal on his return from Moscow as he was leaving the train to hand over medicine to his sick wife (she had cancer). The need to choose this place to intercept the ailing 67-year-old Khint, against whom no charge had yet been leveled, was justified by the fact that "while at liberty he might hide from the investigation and start confusing it." The far-fetched nature of these motives is obvious because Khint, a well known scientist, was a permanent resident of Tallinn with his gravely ill wife. The investigators had no evidence that he might go into hiding.

I.R. Ploom, Kh.Ya. Tyakhiste, Ya.A. Kydar, and others were arrested on the basis of motives just as far-fetched.

Before the case went to court, Khint, who had been arrested without sufficient grounds, was kept under guard for over a year. His frequent requests that measures to secure his appearance in court be changed to a recognizance not to leave were not satisfied.

Khint's wife died soon after his arrest. Displaying an antihumane, cruel attitude toward the accused, an attitude alien to Soviet criminal jurisprudence, the investigators not only failed to give Khint the opportunity to bid farewell to the deceased, but they did not even tell him what had happened.

Khint was deprived of the right to defense guaranteed by Article 158 of the USSR Constitution.

On the day he was arrested he was charged, without sufficient proof, of particularly large-scale embezzlement and smuggling. Over 10 months later, on 23 September 1982, Khint was again presented with a 27-page indictment charging him with crimes stipulated by 10 articles of the criminal codes of three union republics, including the embezzlement of state and public property to the sum of R1,152,272, smuggling, the repeated issuing of bribes, official forgeries, and others.

The investigators knew that the 67-year-old Khint had long suffered from serious cardiovascular illnesses in connection with which on several occasions before proceedings were instituted he was admitted to the hospital, including the resuscitation department, and during the investigation he was twice in the prison hospital. He also suffered mental changes.

When the charges were leveled the investigators obtained from the doctor a certificate stating that his state of health made it possible for him to take part in investigatory actions. Khint was interrogated in the prison hospital while he was sick.

On 27 July 1982, giving as the reason for his request his advanced age and deteriorating health, Khint applied to the USSR Prosecutor's Office to grant him a defense attorney, since he could not exercise his right to defense by himself. But Comrade G.P. Karakozov, the chief of the investigation section, declined the request without giving a reason, stating that there were no grounds for satisfying it.

Because of his physical disabilities Khint was unable to exercise in full his right to defense and therefore in accordance with point 2, Article 38 of the Estonian SSR Code of Criminal Procedure the preliminary investigation organs were obliged to enable him to use the services of a defense attorney from the moment the charges were leveled, but this was not done. This is a very gross violation of the law entailing the unconditional repeal of the sentence on these grounds alone.

The gross violations perpetrated in the process of investigating and examining the case in the Estonian SSR Supreme Court became possible because of the lack of proper prosecutor's office supervision of the investigation by the leadership of the investigation section of the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

In examining this case the Estonian SSR Supreme Court's court collegium for criminal cases failed to investigate the thrust of the problem, had an uncritical attitude toward the materials of the preliminary investigation, and blindly followed the prosecution's version and passed an illegal sentence. The errors perpetrated by the court deserve an appropriate response.

In 1984, Kh. Tammistu, member of the Estonian SSR Supreme Court who presided over the case, was relieved of his post and retired on pension and is now an invalid, in connection with which the question of his responsibility does not arise.

At the same time the plenum believes that the USSR minister of justice should be notified of what it has reported.

The USSR Supreme Court plenum believes that the instances of violation of socialist legality perpetrated by the investigators headed by T.Kh. Gdlyan during the investigation of this case and the lack of appropriate prosecutor's office supervision of the investigation and court examination of the case deserve a special principled response from the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium, the exclusion of facts of this kind from investigation practice, and the discussion of the expediency of further employing T.Kh. Gdlyan in such an important sector of investigation work as the USSR Prosecutor General's investigator for especially important cases.

Guided by Article 22 of the Law on the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR Supreme Court plenum decreed:

That the attention of the USSR Prosecutor General be drawn to cases of the violation of socialist legality perpetrated during the investigation and court examination of the case of Khint and others in order to take appropriate steps.

A copy of this resolution will be sent to the USSR minister of justice for the necessary steps to be taken to improve the education of judges in the principles of independence and subordination only to the law.

Enterprises, Labor Collectives Strike in Riga

PM1005134989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "Most Collectives Worked as Usual"]

[Text] Several Riga industrial enterprises and labor collectives stopped work on 28 April. Your LATINFORM correspondent met with V.S. Terekhov, second secretary of Riga City party committee, and asked him to clarify the situation.

"According to our information," he said, "most city enterprises worked normally. In those labor collectives where work did stop events, it did not always take the form of a direct strike. Rallies were held, for example, at the 'Kommutator' Association, the industrial-robot plant, and the marine-engineering pilot plant, after which work resumed.

It is known that the collective of a machine repair plant struck for 2 hours, but the day's target was met by extending the shift. A meeting between the labor collective and Ya.Ya. Okherin, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, was held in the afternoon at the REZ Production Association.

Dockers operating in Riga commercial seaport's No 3 freight zone stopped work from 0000 hours on 28 April and were partially supported in this by workers in certain other port subunits. A strike committee was set up at the container terminal. According to its figures, 11 ships, 3 of them flying the flag of capitalist countries, were awaiting handling. The strikers stated that they were acting in support of the demands formulated in the resolution of the Interfront rally held 21 April. The dockers started work at 1600 hours.

This is the information available to us at the end of the day of 28 April."

Kiev Obkom Chief on Consequences of Chernobyl

18000941 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by G. Revenko, first secretary of Kiev Party obkom: "Chernobyl Three Years Later"]

[Text] **Three years separate us from the Chernobyl disaster. But it seems that we must once again return to its lessons. Time is not only failing to lessen the sharpness**

with which this is linked, but calls for a thorough, multi-lateral understanding of the political, economic and moral consequences of what this lack of discipline and competence, and imperfection of technological and scientific decisions led to. Impassioned discussions center on this subject, and public interest in it has not waned.

It would not quite be accurate to say that the accident and its consequences most concerned the population of Kiev oblast. True, we were the first in the path of threatening force which had gotten out of control, and we bore the first losses. But the full truth is that this tragedy hurt the entire country, and caused planetary anxiety over the problems of nuclear energy and its use.

The disaster teaches us a great deal. This is the truth. In paying tribute to the heroism of all who participated in the elimination of the consequences of the accident, bowing to the memory of those who perished while doing all they could to see that the accident would not cause even greater losses, we must responsibly and frankly evaluate the situation today with the lessons of Chernobyl in mind, and ever more steadfastly seek the path toward eliminating the grave consequences. This was and continues to be the pain and concern of the obkom [oblast committee], gorkoms [city committees] and raykoms [rayon committees] of the party, and of soviet and economic organs whose duty, it seems, is primarily to fully implement the resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the country's government on these issues. This was the subject of the perturbed conversations held at M. S. Gorbachev's meetings with workers who are personnel at the station during his visit to the zone of the Chernobyl nuclear power station [AES].

How are we to evaluate the current situation? What problems are now being resolved by the oblast party organization and the workers of the oblast? A portion of the problems has naturally been removed, but the major problems, involving mutual, long-term efforts, remain.

Of course, the most glaring sore point is the nuclear station itself. The motives for its closing which people have proposed and will continue to propose are understandable on a purely human level. We do not have the right to ignore public opinion.

The position of the oblast party committee, which was supported by the delegates of the oblast party conference, is this: The first order is to ensure the safe operation of the station, and then according to the development of resources, withdraw the energy blocks from use.

We will be frank. We will not comfort ourselves with illusions. The Chernobyl AES must today generate electric power. There is no alternative for the time being. In consideration of this, the government is making major expenditures. A significant quantity of qualified cadres is being placed here from other stations. A specialized production association, "Kombinat," has been created, which will work here for many years. Decontamination of the territory continues. The search for a final means of burying the destroyed fourth energy unit is being steadfastly conducted through the specialists' efforts.

But there is also a feeling that some people's understanding of the acuity of the problems, including those concerning the station's safety, has become somewhat dulled. We consider this impermissible, demanding the immediate intervention first and foremost of the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau of the Fuel and Energy Complex, a government commission. How can we explain to people that in attempting to raise the reliability of work, the collective cannot receive in a timely manner the necessary quality of equipment and spare parts from factories in Syzran, Podolsk, Safonov, Glazov, Cheboksary, Kharkov, Novorozhensk and Gorkiy?

The country's scientific and technological forces remain to this day unnecessarily uncoordinated in their task of eliminating the consequences of the accident, the complex study of the problem and the development of appropriate recommendations. It is noticeable that the problems of safe use of the station are all the more being moved to the background and to the activities of such a leading institute as the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Power Stations. Here we undoubtedly need the united efforts of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Academies of Sciences.

An important phase in the training of station duty personnel under the conditions of a transition from an exhausting watch system of work to a normal regime is nearing completion. It is understandable that the extraordinary efforts of ministries, the station directorate and the Slavutich party city committee were needed in order for the new collective to be formed more quickly.

After all, a significant portion of the people had to be replaced. The selection of new people was conducted by the most painstaking means possible. The core of the new collective consists of AES cadre workers, including 122 communists. And today, one of every six workers at the station is a party member.

But not everything is going smoothly. The highly qualified specialists with shift, block and shop supervisory duties have not been completely selected. We feel that not everything has gone well for the party oblast committee, its departments and that first and foremost there has been a lack of ability to persuade all the people needed for the job to continue working at the station. Of course, the careless position of the station party committee and the Slavutich city party committee has left its mark. And since we are speaking about atomic energy specialists, not everything was done by the Ministry of Atomic Power, either. We can only agree with the creation of the needed for cadre-training and education base at Chernobyl above all other stations. This problem remains unresolved from the pre-accident period.

We all remember the numerous discussions of the particular approach to the construction of a new city of Slavutich. And this is a unique city indeed. A friendly international collective of envoys from eight brotherly republics is working on its construction today. There are already 12,000 residents here, including 3,700 children.

But unfortunately, a departure from the principles laid in the project's foundation is being permitted, and we find this particularly alarming. Its attractiveness is already starting to be eroded by errors which were committed in the formation of its infrastructure, the population's provisions for employment, and attempts to return to typical, cliched solutions. This also left its mark on the formation of the collective and its mood. Of course, no one is insured against errors, but it is sad that the managers of the "Kombinat" production association, Ministry of Atomic Power and USSR Gostroy are in no hurry to correct them.

The city is just now being settled, and at the same time over 1,000 are waiting for living space. Who are these people? As a rule, they are those involved in the service sector, as well as construction workers. In the first place, calculations for immediate family members to work here have not been confirmed. Second, it was earlier considered that there would be no need for construction workers in Slavutich, but in the meantime, the city has grown even more. We do not understand the position of the Ministry of Power and Electrification which does not decide the issues of providing the construction workers with housing. After all, the erection of the city is second on the agenda.

In order to remove the social tension which has arisen, the proposal for the organization in Slavutich of a concentrated science and technology center for nuclear and bio-medical research and related production could be examined. These resolutions should be adopted in the union departments. It is in this direction that the party oblast committee sees the short-term prospects for Slavutich, within the system of all the activity for the elimination of the consequences of the AES accident.

From all points of view, all of the anxieties for the zone and everything connected with it have a basis. The extended uncertainty seriously destabilizes the situation and agitates people. Here, the positions of the oblast party and oblast executive soviet committee are unchanging: People must not dwell there. There is no moral or economic justification for the fact that over 1,000 people were settled here, without taking anything into consideration. They give no explanation or admonishment for the results. Moreover, they breed mistrust toward our actions. It is difficult to persuade people if on the pages of the central press, and by radio and television the management of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology announces that within the zone there are 15 villages safe for habitation. How can we agree with that if we are speaking of people's labor, recreation and movement? Under these conditions, who can be insured from danger? We feel that the Ministry of Health, as well as legal organs, must take a clear position on this issue.

The recommendation of the USSR Council of Ministers on the determination of the zone's status has not yet been followed. This is not the first month that there has been a peculiar overstretching of the cable between the union and republic governments. It has already been established that this territory is a zone of special preserves and scientific proving grounds in which people's lives and activities cannot be organized, except for those who are directly involved in the service of elimination or research of the consequences of the accident. Logic dictates that the zone be governed not by zoological technocrats, agronomists and foresters but by the physicists, biologists and medical personnel studying radiological problems. And as long as the fruitless arguments last, there continue to appear new unowned burial grounds. The threat of contamination has not been removed and unity of action is lacking.

New problems keep cropping up in the rayons within the zone. It must be frankly stated that we earlier did not foresee all the peculiarities of labor organizations and people's everyday life under altered circumstances. The situation is complicated by the fact that the decontamination work is not yet yielding the needed results, and this places the region's future in question. We share the anxiety expressed in the letters which come to the party oblast committee and the aforementioned organs. This is largely connected to the fact that the resolutions adopted in the republic for the social provisions of this territory were not fulfilled. Of course, we understand that oblast organizations do many things better and more quickly. But nevertheless, the oblast does not have sufficient material and labor resources to resolve these problems rapidly.

There is discussion of doubling or tripling the pace of road, covered water conduit, gas main and residential electrification construction, of introducing changes in the system of soil cultivation, of a transition to growing produce in enclosed greenhouses. The issue of outfitting agriculture with equipment which reliably protects the machine-operator under field conditions must be resolved more expediently. The situation dictates that within a year or two there be schools and kindergartens with swimming pools, sports halls, and special recreation areas. That is, at least a portion of what was lost should be replaced.

There any no grounds for removing from the agenda the circle of questions connected with the living provisions for the evacuated population in their new dwelling places. After all, over 90,000 people had to be relocated, more than half of them within the oblast. During the first phase, party committees, local soviets and economic organizations tried to provide minimum living standards for people, their social amenities. To use an image,

they had to live in the collectives which they came to. I would note that the accommodation of the evacuated population was practically completed by the beginning of 1987.

Here we see serious shortcomings of the oblast organizations as well—party, soviet, trade union and economic. We frequently encounter callousness and deafness with regard to people easily wounded. We will not leave these facts unattended. But we cannot accept the reproach addressed to us: "How much more can be invested in these villages?" because even today only fifth of them have natural gas, only 19 have schools, 34 clubs and 21 kindergartens. There are more than a few cases of two families living on one farmstead. There is a lack of needed specialists, above all teachers, doctors and cultural workers.

The party oblast party committee and oblast executive soviet committee raised all of these issues with the republic Council of Ministers before the beginning of last year. And they encountered an inexplicable situation. It seems that no one will dispute the need to complete work in the new villages, but at the same time, neither financial nor material resources have yet been allocated for this.

The problem should be approached more broadly. The previous concept of oblast development, which started with unrestrained industrial construction, has today lost its right to life. The situation, which has been made extremely acute by the accident, demands in a brief time frame the realization of a reorientation toward the oblast residents' social needs and this is being done. In 1989, 41 percent of the capital investment is going precisely toward these goals. But I want to reiterate that this is not enough. Human misfortune hastens us.

Understandably, from the first days of the accident, people's health, their medical services, took priority. In-depth investigations were conducted; 1.25 million oblast residents were seen in clinics, with permanent records taken on 627,000 of them.

But workers' letters and appeals tell us that now is the time to go significantly further, to intensify the qualitative side of the medical service, to strengthen the material base for health maintenance both in the affected zone and throughout the oblast. But what can be said if 3 years later, nothing has changed with the equipment in the hospitals of the Polesskiy and Ivankovskiy Rayons. And in the majority of graphs, slots are already crossed out in response for claimed funds for 1989. Therefore the party oblast party committee does not share the republic Ministry of Health's somewhat complacent position in assessing the situation.

The accident has exacerbated the overall ecological situation in the oblast. More than a few rallies have been and will be held for this cause. It would not be correct to ignore them. Pollution as a result of the accident of a number of northern rayons has deprived Kievans of their traditional recreation areas. There has been a need to transfer pioneer camps, guesthouses and recreation bases for workers along the Dnepr. But this is controlled by the significant waste of the Tripolskaya State Regional Electric Power Station. The need to switch the station to gas fuel is becoming vital.

The workers and oblast party organization, in a difficult situation, understand their high responsibility in fulfilling the tasks of the oblast's socioeconomic development, and the implementation of restructuring. A reminder: As a result of the accident, we lost 575 million rubles in basic funds, 58,800 hectares of agricultural land, 1.5 million square meters of housing and hundreds of sites of social and cultural life. And yet we have felt and continue to feel that we do not have the right to raise the issue of any sort of indulgence or corrections. We emphasize conscientiousness, the giving nature of our people, and the complete utilization of our own possibilities. Thanks to the selfless labor of our people, the oblast has held up and handled the plans of 3 years. And in the coming period, we set before ourselves no less intense, mobilizing tasks.

'Pamyat' Resurfaces in 'Patriot' Society Rally

PM1005134189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[I. Sidorov article under the rubric "We Are Learning Democracy": "On the Question of Rights"]

[Text] "No place for Russophobes on radio and television"—that placard (along with approximately 15 others, some of them more scathing) was raised on Wednesday near the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting building on Manezhnaya Square.

The content of the placards and speeches seemed to indicate that "Pamyat" was meeting here.... But no, it turned out that quite different people had called the rally. At any rate the speakers swore that they advocated strengthening friendship between the peoples. The new "Patriot" society, officially registered by Petrogradskiy Rayon Soviet Party Committee, was "appearing in public" for the first time. It is headed by A.Z. Romanenko, author of the notorious "On the Class Nature of Zionism," who was introduced at the rally as a "participant in the fighting in Korea against U.S. and Israeli aggressors."

I do not know where Israeli aggressors came from in Korea, possibly from the same place as the Russophobes on radio and television. Pardon my somewhat frivolous tone but everything I saw inspired irony. My colleague Andrey Petrov wrote about this yesterday in SMENA.... For instance, the placard proclaiming "Complete Glasnost in the Ethnic Composition of the Supreme Soviet" at first merely had me in fits of laughter: Have "they" also ensconced themselves in the country's supreme organ of power?

But when you think about it, it's not very funny.

It is quite clear that, however they describe themselves, the organizers of the rally at Manezhnaya Square are the same old "Pamyat" lightly camouflaged with slogans advocating "friendship of the peoples" and giving assurances that it is fighting for "Lenin-style socialism." Even these words seemed blasphemous to me when I saw the placard "No place for Russophobes in creative unions!" and when I heard people saying that 4 years of restructuring have been a "lengthy period of mockery of the fatherland."

Of course, these outbursts can be disregarded. Ultimately pluralism is pluralism and such elements may exist within the spectrum of the various social forces. The time has gone when we grew cold at the publication of a teacher's letter [allusion to Nina Andreyeva's anti-reform article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA]. Our young democracy is growing stronger and it can endure things that yesterday might have seemed like a death warrant.

Everything is as it should be, but there is one reservation. Any social movement should strictly observe the law. In my opinion, the speeches uttered on the square could sometimes have been interpreted as calls to kindle ethnic hostility despite the fact that the speakers earnestly denied that. And lastly, the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies protects candidate deputies' honor and dignity, and the verses posted up on the truck that was serving as rostrum, in my opinion, insulted one candidate—television editor B. Kurkovoy.

Of course, it is up to the law enforcement organs to assess the extent to which the content of the placards conforms with our constitution and it is up to a candidate to decide whether to take legal proceedings against the offenders or whether it is better not to draw attention to them. I am only voicing my own opinion in this case.

But there is a precedent. Forces that seemed to have calmed down last fall have once again taken public action. My journalist colleagues and I saw all the same people and heard all the same speeches. These forces behaved quite aggressively. SMENA's Andrey Petrov was struck in the ribs with the pole of a placard, our photographer Aleksandr Drozdov was jostled while taking photographs, and I received verbal threats. If you consider that the rally was devoted to glasnost and democracy it is quite clear **what kind of** glasnost and **what kind of** democracy its organizers heed.

The organizers did not act of their own accord. Kuybyshev and Dzerzhinskiy Rayon party committees [raykoms] gave authorization for the rally. It was attended by workers from the two party raykoms. (They were silent when speeches were made against "Russophobes".) The next day I telephoned I. Sokolov, chief of Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom Ideological Department, and asked his opinion of the incident. Ilya Petrovich announced that the rayon has not yet discussed the results of the rally and his strictly preliminary personal opinion was as follows: "Not everything was clear-cut there, both objective and unobjective criticism was voiced, but there were no violent calls..." Order was on the whole observed, and in light of pluralism...

I did not succeed in obtaining "definitive" assessments at the raykom that day or the next.

I am not urging people to boycott "Patriot" rallies. Ultimately people are entitled to have their own opinion on any issue. But I am in favor of ensuring that the law is observed very strictly. I still cannot understand why it is so difficult for people, even during the election campaign, when the law guarantees free agitation and counteragitation, to assemble for a **legitimate** rally and why a new society is given an opportunity at its first request to hold a rally for 4 hours in the city center. Yet we all have equal rights. Or am I wrong?

State Secrecy Reviewed, Said To Threaten Glasnost

18000938 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Roundtable" discussion led by V. Zakharko: "The 'Secret' Stamp in the Era of Glasnost"]

[Text] **There are ever fewer of those who doubt that restructuring is irreversible, especially since the elections of 26 March. And here the question arises: Where do people see danger for glasnost? Logically, much of this could have its origin in the state institution of secrecy.**

As our editorial board learned, at the order of the USSR Council of Ministers, there began recently a complex program of research on the restructuring of the country's secret classification and security system. Today, several participants in its development have been invited to IZVESTIYA's "round table": Valeriy Vasilyevich Sychev, deputy chairman of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, doctor of technological sciences, professor; Vladimir Vasilyevich Pustogarov, doctor of judicial sciences, department head, USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law; Andrey Konstantinovich Subbotin, doctor of economic sciences, section chief, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' [MID] Diplomatic Academy; Viktor Aleksandrovich Ugarov, responsible worker of the USSR KGB.

[Zakharko] It is understandable that every state, in its concern for its own security, segregates and protects its own secrets. But before finding out for what purpose the program which you are developing was thought up, what its goals are, I would like to speak about why the need for restructuring of the current secret classification and security system arose.

[Ugarov] The foundation for the protection of secrets was laid in the first years of Soviet power, and was directed toward concealing information on military

strength and armaments, and also the activities of factories and institutions related to them. In subsequent times, the government took supplemental measures for the preservation of state secrets. All in all, they justified themselves—they allowed for the prevention of leaks of the most important secrets, thus making their contribution to the victory over fascism, and later, the Soviet Unions' achievement of strategic parity. But the pity is that a mass of shortcomings of bureaucratic stratifications has overgrown the basic positions for the protection of secrets.

[Pustogarov] Starting with some moment—more precisely, starting with the late'20s and the period of the "exacerbation of the class struggle," an especially tragic period for the Soviet people—there began an inordinate use of secrecy: from a means of security it turned into one of the sources of the threat to society's development.

One thing is tightly interwoven with another: the administrative-command system created the "cult of secrecy" and it in turn led to a deformation of the political, economic and social structures of Soviet society, its values and ideals. The "secret" stamp on a multitude of information streams, including statistical data, did not allow us to know what was happening to us and where we were going. What kind of security is it if the country crawls into stagnation and through it into a crisis?

Having accumulated great experience over the decades with information in doses, the bureaucratic apparatus has chosen a new tactic (or strategy) today, in the era of restructuring: frequently the apparatus hides the whole truth not only from the people's eyes, but from those of the political and state leadership as well, thus negatively influencing the nature of various important government resolutions. And this is very dangerous; it can only intensify social tension and promote the undermining of the interrelations between society and state, the people and the power, both in localities, in union republics, and in the center.

Total secrecy was a heavy burden on our economy and public life, and was reflected in a mass psychology where people closed up into themselves, fearing to utter anything superfluous which could be suspected of abetting the enemy. Having stationed a sentry on duty in our thoughts half a century ago, calling upon him to intensify his vigilance during the Great Patriotic War, we later forgot about him for a long time, as the famous story goes.

[Zakharko] But who will relieve the sentry?

[Pustogarov] The one who appointed him: the state. The sentry must be posted where he is really needed: to guard genuine secrets.

[Zakharko] And who breeds them, the KGB?

[Sychev] Unfortunately, due to the lack of knowledge about the true state of affairs, the overall opinion exists that the KGB erected and guards a bastion of secrecy and security measures. In fulfilling its direct responsibilities on orders form the USSR Council of Ministers, the Committee for State Security also implements certain control functions for the establishment of order in the protection of secrets, but does not establish the order itself.

Here, in brief, is the existing mechanism of classification. The government forms a list of fundamental state secrets. But this is based on the proposals of the ministries and departments. Thus, as you can see, it is not the KGB which determines the nature of the information considered a state secret; it is fully the ministries' and departments' initiative. But they compile their own list on the basis of proposals coming from "below": from enterprises, organizations and institutions. As a rule, the branches' headquarters strike nothing from the lists which come from "below." Who among the ministry workers would dare take it upon himself to remove the "secret" stamp when it is recommended by specialists on the scene? A reflex is at work on all levels of the state hierarchy: God takes care of he who takes care of himself—as long as no one leaks anything. Overclassification is allowed. This element is promoted by the fact that in our country there are criminal and administrative sanctions only for disclosing secrets; I do not know of a single case where a person was held at all accountable for superfluous secrecy. And since there is no responsibility, no one has really analyzed what the consequences to national interests, positive or negative, might be in deciding to stamp "secret."

[Zakharko] Quite recently, the magazine MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN published E.A. Shevardnadze's speech given at a USSR MID Research and Applications conference. Among other things, the speech said that over 800 highly interesting ideas and suggestions have been received from the ministry's collective over the entire spectrum of the restructuring of our foreign policy. And almost all of the diplomats called a rejection of excessive secrecy one of the most valid methods for the realization of this restructuring. The minister announced, "The workers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs do not claim the exclusive right to know literally everything. They must, however, know everything which is related to their sphere of competence." I must admit that I find very discomforting the awareness that even a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the chief of foreign policy of a great state, is forced to speak of how unwarranted secrecy interferes with this policy.

[Subbotin] The majority of people perceive modern diplomacy in an old-fashioned way; everything coming to terms to support relations between states. Now, however, diplomacy in its previous "pure" form does not exist. In practice, it is only a part of the foreign policy instruments of the state with all of its components:

political, economic, military, scientific and technological, and humanitarian. Any diplomatic action you take has behind it one or another sphere of internal life, one or another branch of the national economy. Hence the diplomats' need for information on affairs within the country. In the meantime, due to the "secret" stamp, information from various ministries and departments frequently does not get to the MID; it could be used to confirm the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union, to strengthen the trust in Moscow's new political thinking on the part of other states and world public opinion. The lack of necessary and just information not infrequently disorients the diplomats, and in the final account damages the country's internal interests.

[Pustogarov] While in the FRG, I could purchase an accurate and detailed map not only of Bonn, Hamburg, Paris, Rome, and London, but of Moscow as well. Even IZVESTIYA has noted that here, maps of that very same Moscow have little in common with reality. With the current possibilities for space reconnaissance, such an attempt to confuse foreign special services is simply senseless and anecdotal. You cannot even count the number of such examples. It seems that there is practically no field in which we have not tried to hide something from the foreigners, and in essence, we are hiding a great deal from ourselves. Our scientists and specialists speak bitterly of the fact that due to their truncated freedom to exchange information, we are bearing colossal intellectual and material losses.

[Zakharko] Who, nevertheless, determines the country's policy of secrecy?

[Pustogarov] However much we might want to do so, there is no finding one concrete individual, nor one concrete organ responsible for the development and real-life realization of an integrated policy in this matter, because there simply is none. However surprising this may be, unwarranted secrecy is not the fruit of a planned state policy to close off information, but the result of a lack of such a policy. The reduction into an all-union list of the sum of proposals by ministries and departments cannot be called an integrated policy. The process of secret classification is frequently of formal and subjective nature, and not based on a clear state strategy on issues of information. Since there is no law on state security—it is just now being developed—this gives each official the opportunity to understand and interpret the country's security in his own way, not infrequently in his own departmental and group interests.

[Sychev] The joke can be heard that somebody stamped something "secret" so that no one could see his bad work. But there are several grains of truth in this joke. Incidentally, in and of itself, the mechanism of total secrecy now in effect is the simplest and relatively most inexpensive mechanism. Transition to a system of flexible, elective secrecy will demand not only qualified and competent cadres, but certain material expenditures as well.

[Zakharko] Sooner or later, everything secret becomes public. What is the method for declassification?

[Ugarov] Here, the ministries and departments have everything locked up—they have the right to remove the stamps which they themselves apply. And this must be done on a mandatory basis, as determined by the reduction of the information's topicality. However, all around, the normative acts on declassification are not being fulfilled. It happens that the immediate stamper has either retired or has left this world, and the ban with which he concerned himself is still in effect; no one takes it upon himself to rescind it.

I feel that it would be appropriate here to deflect from the KGB the resounding reproaches that we do not let people go abroad under the guise of preserving obviously obsolete secrets. The KGB usually has nothing to do with this; it is the ministries' and departments' competence, not the KGB's, to open their secrets. Remove the stamp and the foreign travel limitations of a person who dealt with these state secrets will fall away. I could cite a number of cases in which the Committee for State Security turned its attention upon managers of branches for not fulfilling the normative requirements for the disclosure of information which has lost its importance. It is at the request of the KGB in support of the executive organs that work is now being carried out on a reduction in the volume of secret information, and a number of branches have already reduced it by 30-40 percent. A resolution was recently adopted to abandon the "post office box" system in naming enterprises of the defense industry. If it used to be easy to conceal production and social problems from the public behind these "post office boxes," this will mean the end of that.

[Zakharko] You know, of course, even if only through publications in the press, that society's expectations that even the Committee for State Security will become more open for glasnost are quite strong?

[Ugarov] I feel that the general interest in the activities of the KGB is completely justified. But it seems that with this, every person understands that like the corresponding services in other countries, we cannot open wide our offices and documents. For example, in the United States, there are limits on information about the activities of the CIA and FBI and other such organizations.... In a word, certain limits of openness are permissible for our purposes. And it is in this direction that the work is moving. We have a press center. It is known that the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has opened a permanent column entitled "The USSR KGB Informs and Comments." I am certain, that is, I know full well that there are forms of deepening glasnost which will better satisfy the interest in the Committee for State Security and its local organs.

But to return to the discussion of the system of protecting secrets such as it is, and the procedures of classification and declassification; I emphasize that the Committee for State Security is very interested in bringing in

order here. Our task is to guard the country from external harm, to protect genuine secrets, and to fight the intelligence services of foreign special services. And contrived "secrets" only complicate the Chekists' work, dispersing their forces and resources.

[Subbotin] It is just a paradox that there is hidden in steel safes a great deal of what has long since ceased to be secret, or never even was, while at the same time, information which is screaming for the "secret" stamp is completely open. In the U.S. press, I studied material relating to the American "Star Wars" strategy. And I learned from this that in technology for the production of the means to destroy USSR space targets, the Americans are successfully using the diagram of a quadrupole injector, published in the Soviet press, which we invented before the Americans. Or let us take Soviet space medicine, which in many tendencies overtakes the knowledge of all the other countries of the world. But with enviable regularity we publish the latest materials in this field, data from experiments off the face of the Earth, obtained with great effort and multi-million expenses, and even with the health of our cosmonauts. The information received by such costly means is a most precious commodity; we can and must trade in on it. And we throw it around for free.

Space and commerce.... This is already innovation. As was reported, one space on a space ship was sold to a Japanese journalist. Incidentally, I cannot imagine that Glavkosmos can strike from his reportage those details which are washed out of our journalists' reports under the guise of secrecy. So if the Japanese public, and together with it the world public, finds out something new about the space flights, it will be primarily something which our information media were not allowed to describe. And I feel that there should be rejoicing over the fact that at Baykonur they have started to allow uncensored special foreign correspondents: they have more opportunities than any of the Soviet journalists to make a contribution to glasnost on our own space matters.... The unique transport system comprising the "Energiya" rocket and the "Buran" ship was recently made public. It seems that we are now ready to sell abroad not only its services, but the technology derived during the creation of "Energiya" and "Buran." Thus the road to trade is via space? Perhaps to billions of dollars?

[Subbotin] I fear that we have not yet accumulated billions in this.

In visiting various exhibitions in the West, our specialists are frequently surprised that firms there demonstrate the latest equipment, while our work on their analogs is highly classified. The reason is a simple commercial one—having announced their scientific and technological breakthroughs in a given field, the firms seek buyers. They calculate the best moment to reveal their secrets; competitors can repeat their developments only 3, 5 or 8 years later, and for the time being they are the leaders; they can dictate the market prices. We have become accustomed to informing the world of ready products, of the new airplanes or ships, etc., but for many years we hide the latest technology and the individual components. These same Americans, like the Japanese and West Germans, behave differently: knowing that the world cannot touch them for a few years, they announce their novelties and reap the dividends. This is how it was with the creation of the "Shuttle" space ship.

According to U.S. assessments, the development of "Energiya" and "Buran" cost us several billion rubles. But this system will remain an expense for us if we do not develop work in transferring the technology to both domestic and foreign industry. Unfortunately, much here has already been lost due to the fact that each department participating in "Energiya" and "Buran" was intoxicated with hyper-vigilance.

There is a term in the economic legislation of a number of Western countries: "loss of possible profit." If we consider this applicable to how the USSR declassifies science and technology information inopportunely and too late, then this loss can be calculated to be billions of rubles annually. And here we have the price of the primitive, narrow departmental view on what constitutes state security.

[Zakharko] What does your program for the restructuring of the secrecy and security measure entail?

[Sychev] The political-legal, economic, organizational, and normative bases for introducing the system of secret protection should correspond to the needs of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, and confirm the principles of the lawful socialist state and the creation of a new economic mechanism, with the consideration of the interests of the labor collectives and of every citizen as an individual. One of the main goals of the program is surmounting unwarranted secrecy, as the 19th party conference called upon us to do. With those are abuses of secrecy which cause political, material, intellectual, spiritual and psychological damage to the development of Soviet society and the authority of socialism.

[Zakharko] Can it be supposed that the Law on Glasnost, which we all await, will be conducive to this?

[Pustogarov] This law may prove to be an act which sounds nice but does not work. If this only binds the ministries and departments to present all information other than that containing state or service secrets, it is obviously not enough. Because everything which is not "permitted" can be called secret, and nothing else would remain. That means some other law on state secrets, which would regulate the processes of secrecy and proclaim the presumption of openness of information. In other words, the principle is needed that everything which is not prohibited by the law on state secrets is permitted. Such a law is now being prepared. Together with the laws on glasnost, on the press and on state security, it must lie in its entirety in the general vein of

reform of the political system, the formation of a socialist rule-of-law state. Considering their mutual influence and their direct or indirect link with society's informational processes, it is necessary to introduce appropriate changes and supplements in economic, criminal, administrative, and civil law, to examine the entire normative base under the law. Creating rights in the area of protecting secrets must thus be marked by a systemic approach and not be a one-time legislative act but an entire and fairly major tendency of legal reform.

[Subbotin] All of these innovations must respond to the conditions which the Soviet Union took upon itself in international agreements, and in particular in the recently adopted Final Act of the Vienna meeting of the state participants of the Conference on Peace and Security in Europe.

We are now experiencing one of the most responsible periods in history, as a new attitude toward the USSR is being formed on the part of both leading states and all of the world community. It will be all the more favorable if we elicit more trust, and the foundation of that trust is openness of information. The great influence of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations upon peaceful processes is well known; there are 350 and 2,500 of them respectively. But until recent times we participated in the work of too few of these organizations; the issue of accepting new members is decided by ballot there, and we were not admitted. The situation is now radically changing, to our benefit. And this is all because of the growth in trust toward us through glasnost, openness of information. There is no doubt but that injecting order into our system of keeping secrets will positively influence the role of the USSR in the world.

[Zakharko] But will the ministries and departments decide, just as they used to, what is a state secret?

[Pustogarov] No, that is not why a restructuring of the system of protecting secrets is being prepared. In the first place, as was already stated here, it is oriented toward the development of a legislative foundation. And secondly, toward the creation of a constitutionally empowered control over the mechanism of establishing and maintaining security and secrecy measures.

The Congress of People's Deputies will be convened soon, at the end of May. It is anticipated that within the new USSR Supreme Soviet there will be formed a permanent commission or committee on defense and state security issues. On this level, it is necessary to clearly determine for the sake of which goals and which state doctrines we must apply security measures—political, military, economic, scientific, technological; they must be weighed. A single competent organ of the USSR Council of Ministers must regulate and coordinate all the work in the country. There is something to think about here, but it seems that the authority to classify and declassify in the name of the state can be granted to an interdepartmental and independent expert commission. All the ministries and departments must be refused this right; at their discretion, they may use it only for industrial and commercial secrecy. And then we will have it, that a "state" secret is one the disclosure of which will inevitably constitute espionage or treason against the homeland.

[Ugarov] With the commissioning of the institution of industrial and commercial secrecy, the bulk of essential secrets will finally have the political burden lifted from it. The protection of secrets will be transferred from a political to an economic basis, responding to the ideas of economic reform. Then everyone, from the minister to the factory director to the department head to the actual developer of a new idea or a new device, will begin to think about when they should hide their novelty and when it is better and more advantageous to advertise it. But this is not as simple a question as it seems at first glance; it hinges, after all, upon theoretically undeveloped concept of property and the right to it, including information. We will not cover the difficulties of the transition to the institution of industrial and commercial secrecy. It seems that the choice of forms for coordination of security and secrecy activities, and the granting of exclusive rights to classify and declassify information, demands serious analysis and a search for alternative scenarios for a solution. But the existing difficulties can be overcome.

[Subbotin] This issue has become especially exacerbated recently in connection with the broad excursion of Soviet enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives into the external market, and the creation of joint laboratories, institutes and firms. The more quickly our practice of protecting secrets approximates world practice, the more successfully will the USSR's participation proceed in international scientific and economic integration, in humanitarian cooperation, and in expansion of contacts between people.

[Zakharko] On whose initiative was it decided to restructure security and secrecy measures; who has united with this program?

[Sychev] This task was assigned to us by the government, and the assignment corresponds completely to the resolutions of the 19th party conference. Scientists and specialists of the USSR Academy of Sciences system, the USSR Council of Ministers' Academy of the National Economy, MID, the State Planning Committee, the KGB, and other departments were drawn into the preparation of this program. It was decided from the beginning that different variants would be analyzed in order that the best one finally be chosen, thus excluding any pressure from departmental ambitions. The conceptualization of the program was prepared by us, then it was discussed in a number of ministries and departments, accepted, and laid in the foundation of the development being undertaken. We assume that toward the end of the current year, we will formulate the subject of all of our

research of the summary conclusions and concrete proposals, after which they will be sent to the USSR Council of Ministers, and then to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration and acceptance.

[Zakharko] One final question: Has this program been stamped "secret"?

[Sychev] To be honest, the first impulse was that this needed to be secret. However, we soon understood that there is nothing to hide here. On the contrary, people need to know that in this traditionally delicate sphere the state has rejected deformity and stereotypes—that it has posed and firmly undertaken to resolve the problem of protecting secrets in all of its scope and variety, in its own interests. Everyone must realize that the foundation of national security is economic power, the democratization of all aspects of life, and the emancipation of the minds, forces and energy of man.

1989 Census Data on Population Growth, Migration

18300582 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economics N.G. Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by TASS correspondents T. Akkuratova and L. Yermakova: "All of This Is About Us"; date and place not given]

[Text] So, there are 286,717,000 of us, citizens of the Soviet Union. These statistics were quoted in the report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics on the preliminary results of the All-Union Population Census taken this January.

"Do they bring joy to statisticians, demographers?" This was the question which TASS correspondents addressed to Doctor of Economics N. G. Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

[Belov] There are more of us, and this is, obviously, good news. Since the time of the 1979 census, the number of people has grown by 24.3 million, or 9.3 percent. The Soviet Union still ranks third in the world in the number of inhabitants.

The highest increment has been registered in the republics of Central Asia (22 to 34 percent). In Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, the population has increased by 13 and 17 percent respectively. In other union republics the increment has been under 10 percent.

As is known, many factors affect the growth rate. For example, the consequences of World War II are still being felt. It is good that we are growing. However, the scope of our economic development, the need for additional labor resources to develop economically promising areas calls for a greater population increase, especially in some regions, first of all in the European segment of our country, and in the eastern section of the Russian Federation.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Are the data obtained different from those expected and calculated on the basis of information on persons born and dying, arriving in our country, or leaving its boundaries?

[Belov] The difference is very small, only 0.1 percent. This testifies to the completeness of both the current registration of the populace and this census. However, the difference is noticeably greater in individual republics, krays, oblasts, and cities. This is due mainly to the difficulties in registering precisely the interterritorial migration of the populace. (Some citizens who change their place of residence do not in a timely manner fill out the necessary documents which are the basis for the statistical registration of migrations). The results of the census verify the data of current statistics.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How has the proportion of the urban and rural populace changed?

[Belov] The number of urbanites increased by 25.2 million (by 15 percent), including 10.6 million due to the outmigration from rural areas and the transformation of rural localities into urban. Cities with over 1 million inhabitants have grown the fastest. Their number has increased from 18 to 23 over the last 10 years, and the population in them—from 32 to 41 million persons, or by 29 percent. Alma-Ata, Kazan, Perm, Rostov-on-the-Don, and Ufa are new cities with over 1 million inhabitants.

The rural population has declined by 0.9 million over the period in question, and its share has dropped from 38 to 34 percent. The decline has occurred in a majority of autonomous republics and oblasts in the Russian Federation, including 27 out of the 29 oblasts in the Non-Chernozem Zone, in virtually all oblasts of the Ukraine, and throughout the territory of Belorussia. The rural population has increased in the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], some union republics of Transcaucasia, and the Baltic area. Its increase has been great in Central Asia. Problems with labor resources, which were widely discussed at the March Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, are directly associated with these changes.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The census has shown that the percentage of women is higher among urbanites than it is in rural areas. Does this uneven distribution cause difficulties in creating families?

[Belov] It certainly does. In the rural areas of most union republics, the number of males in the 18-to-29 age bracket considerably exceeds that of females. The ratio being as it is, some young men are not able to find their other half.

In 1959, there were 20.7 million more women than men. In subsequent years, gradual equalization occurred, and the difference was reduced to 15.7 million women. The excess of women over men begins at 30 years of age. It is caused by a higher mortality of the male population, and, on top of it, for older age groups, the consequences of great losses in the years of the war.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] As is known, the program of the All-Union Census included 25 questions. Thus far, only the data on the number of the populace have been obtained. When will other the data become available?

[Belov] Toward the end of this year, we will receive census results concerning the age composition, educational status, instruction, nationality, language, marital status, sources of income, the number and size of families, and housing conditions. It is important to note that census results are being calculated in combinations of various attributes, and this significantly increases their analytical value. A complete compartmentalization of materials will be completed next year, which is approximately 1 year sooner than the results of the previous census were obtained.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nikolay Grigoryevich, preparations for the all-union survey, the fourth in the postwar period, took 3 years. Has everything been provided for? What is your assessment of the conduct of the survey?

[Belov] We can say now that the census was taken in an orderly manner due to the diligent preparatory work and vigorous participation by party, soviet, and social organizations, and economic agencies, and the coverage of the census issues by the press, radio and television.

In keeping with the plan, data processing is now under way. Census sheets are being prepared for automated processing using up-to-date computer technology at republic, kray, and oblast statistical agencies. Census information recorded on magnetic tapes is transmitted to the main computer center of the USSR State Committee for Statistics where all results are going to be calculated.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Will small brochures be released as data become ready, along with major publications of collected data books with census results?

[Belov] Yes, it is planned to publish brief brochures and press-releases on the census results in order to keep the populace currently informed.

Belorussia Announces Changes in Republic Ministries
LD0505132689 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 22 Apr 89 p 2

[Summary] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To appoint Tamara Fedorovna Krutovtseve Belorussian minister of social security. She was born in 1942 in Belorussia.

To include Comrade Nikolay Trofimovich Kovko, administrator of affairs of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, in the body of the Belorussian Council of Ministers.

To release Comrade Vadim Ivanovich Kritskiy from the post of deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers.

Soviet Germans' Living Conditions Highlighted
LD0605161589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—The processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union have highlighed many problems, including problems in the important sphere as inter-ethnic relations. During the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will be dedicated to a discussion of this issue, many obsolete approaches toward the history and the contemporary life of many ethnic groups in Soviet society are being reviewed.

One of the largest groups is made up of the Soviet Germans, the distant descendants of the settlers from Germany who, in search for a better life, headed for the boundless lands of Russia more than 2 centuries ago. At the present time, they number 2.2 million. In the multinational Soviet Union the Germans rank fourteenth in number. Through their industrious and disciplined nature they have won great prestige among the peoples of the country.

The growing attention being given to the living conditions of Germans residents in Kazakhstan and Altay Kray, in Central Asia and other regions is a universal phenomenon. In Kirghizia, for example, in the settlement of Leninpol where more than 300 German families live an all-embracing cultural and health center was recently opened. The cultural life of the German population of the USSR is also developing.

In Tselinograd [Kazakhstan] Days of Soviet German Literature took place. All genres of this literature are represented in the republic. A special German editorial office has been functioning in the "Kazakhstan" publishing house for more than 20 years. In this language, in a republic of approximately 1 million German inhabitants, a daily newspaper "FREUNDSCHAFT" [Friendship] is published and radio broadcasts are conducted.

Radio broadcasting is conducted in the German language in Kirghizia as well. The issues of preserving and developing the national culture and the traditions of the Soviet Germans are one of the central tasks of the cultural and educational society "Rebirth", which was formed a month ago. This is the first public association in the country founded on the basis of nationality.

The expanding process of restructuring and glasnost gives hope that the problems of the life of the German population in the USSR will be resolved.

New Radio, TV Center in Brest Operational

LD0605191389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 May 89

[Summary] In Brest a new radio and television center has gone into operation. Modern equipment allows the center to broadcast on radio in stereo and to receive five television channels per day, including two from Warsaw.

In the neighboring regions of Poland, people will be able to watch and listen to programs from Brest. The center was completed in a year.

AIDS Virus Found in 7 Volgograd Children

PM0805101389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Kornev report: "Dirty Syringe Is Cause of Infection"]

[Text] The AIDS virus has been discovered in seven children in the children's surgical block of the Volgograd No 7 hospital. They were all hospitalized with lung illnesses.

"These cases," I was told by V. Shchuchkin, chief of the oblast health department, "were discovered during a planned study which is now being conducted in the oblast. It is primarily specific groups of the population and people with serious illnesses in whom immune deficiency phenomena are noted who are being studied."

A commission headed by K. Akulov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy health minister, is now working in connection with the discovery of AIDS in Volgograd.

"Additional research was carried out at a laboratory in Moscow," V. Shchuchkin replied. "The presence of the virus in these children was confirmed. The course connected with treatment for their lung illness has ended now. The children have been discharged from hospital and are at home under the observation of doctors. I want to stress that rumors of alleged deaths are incorrect. The children's state at present is satisfactory."

Local newspapers have informed the people of Volgograd of what has happened. The report published by the oblast health department states that additional information on the results of the commission's work will be made public. In particular all those who were in contact with the virus bearers are being examined. The oblast prosecutor's office is investigating the reasons for the incident.

Emergency measures have been taken to prevent the spread of infection, hygiene and anti-epidemic procedures have been stepped up in all medical institutions and more disposable syringes and various medical equipment have been allocated.

Crimea Oblast Wants AES Construction Ended

18220115 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 May 89 p 2

[Article by TASS correspondent L. Ryabchikov: "How To Protect the Crimea?"]

[Text] An important decision was adopted at the session of the Crimea Oblast soviet. The deputies recognized the necessity of stopping the construction of a nuclear power plant right next to the health resorts and requested that the USSR Council of Ministers review the question of reprofiling it as a training center for power engineers. The suggestion to extend the status of an all-union health center to the whole peninsula was also brought up.

For a long time the troublesome symptoms of a general "unhealthiness" of the environment were simply not noticed. Such a practice led to the fact that Yalta, due to its air pollution, was crossed off the list of world-renowned health resorts. The sources of curative mud are perishing in the Yevpatoriya and Saki recreational zones. The concentration of harmful substances and admixtures in the lakes greatly exceeds the permissible norms. Birds and insects fly past Prisivash, where the wastes from "big chemistry" enterprises are discharged. They have "added" to the penisula's unique monuments of nature only one sad object of economic activity—the country's largest hoard of sewers containing sulfuric acid. The concentration of such solutions increases every year. Are the acid rains gathering strength here, recently pelting the Crimea's gardens and plantations? Transport is literally poisoning the air. Up to half a million out-of-town passenger cars join the stream of traffic from the very beginning of the health resort season.

The startup of a nuclear power plant would aggravate the ecological situation. How is it possible to build such a facility in a protected region, where people come to recuperate and rest? More than 300,000 inhabitants of the Crimea signed a petition against construction of the power station.

V. Saratovskiy, vice-president of the local association "Ecology and Peace" and a professor at Simferopol University, spoke about the need to develop a unified concept on the reconstruction of the Crimea as a unique nature and cultural-historic complex.

Uzbek Party Views 'Anti-Social' Acts, Restructuring
PM1005140189 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] A session of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held 27 April involving the broad party-economic aktiv. A report on the results of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum was delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

The bureau session examined the question of measures to reinforce the prevention of anti-social manifestations in the republic. During the discussion it was stressed that the processes of democracy and glasnost are developing against the background of an increase in people's self-awareness and social and political activeness. Independent social organizations and informal associations are being created. Many of them are helping to accelerate restructuring and are combining their efforts with party, soviet, and economic organs.

However, there are also some who are trying for their own ends to use people's healthy desires to take part in the process of restructuring and contribute to the further economic and moral improvement of society. The arrogant leaders of these groupings have constantly been inciting people to take part in mass manifestations heedless of the consequences and abdicating all common-sense responsibility.

The republic's working people have expressed their alarm by writing and speaking about these extremist developments, which they see as a danger, and have been asking for preventive measures.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau requested that Central Committee departments, oblast party committees [obkom], city party committees, and rayon party committees [raykom], soviet and law-enforcement organs, trade unions, and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League carry out a profound and self-critical analysis and, on that basis, take fundamental and specific actions to resolutely strengthen discipline, organization, and order and to increase the opposition to anti-social manifestations in the republic.

The text of the decision adopted and the concrete measures that have been planned on this question will be published in the press in the near future.

The session examined the organizational and political activity of Tashkent's Kirovskiy and Oktyabrskiy Raykoms in the conditions of restructuring. Those party committees and many primary organizations have become more professional in their work and more purposeful in the solution of specific tasks. On that basis certain positive changes have been made in the socioeconomic development of collectives, and the moral atmosphere is improving.

At the same time more profound changes are needed in the work style of the party raykoms and their first secretaries, comrades M.M. Umarova and Kh.S. Aripov. The party raykoms have not begun practical work to put into practice the criticisms expressed by Communists at report-and-election meetings and conferences and are slow to seek effective forms of political activity and to resolve questions directly affecting the satisfaction of people's multifarious material and spiritual needs. The approach to cadre policy based on the use of questionnaires and the nomenklatura has not been eliminated, and the apparatus officials and ideological aktiv have not developed the ability or skills relevant to work in the conditions of democratization and glasnost.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau drew the attention of Kirovskiy and Oktyabrskiy party raykoms, bureaus, and their first secretaries in person to the need to eliminate outmoded methods, to be more resolute in restructuring the forms and methods of party political work, and to conduct it in accordance with the demands of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A report was heard on the fulfillment of decisions on some practical measures aimed at improving cadre policy in the republic. To restructure the republic's agro-industrial complex management system in light of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum's demands to completely eradicate command and administrative methods of leadership, the bureau session formed a commission to take action to reorganize the management of the republic's agro-industrial complex. The commission was instructed to study public opinion and draw up proposals to improve the agro-industrial complex management system at all levels.

The Central Committee Bureau also examined the question of restoring Alatskiy, Bozskiy, Narynskiy, Chartakskiy, Koshrabadskiy, Yazyavanskiy, and Nukusskiy Rayons to within their former boundaries. A proposal to transfer Kyzyltepinskiy, Tamdynskiy, Uchkudukskiy, Kanimekhskiy, and Navoyskiy Rayons and the cities of Navoi, Zarafshan, and Uchkuduk from Samarkand Oblast to Bukhara Oblast was examined.

The relevant materials have been sent to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium for the final decision.

The bureau session adopted proposals from the republic's war and labor veterans council on the publication of an Uzbek Book of Remembrance and also examined other questions of a sociopolitical and social nature.

New Uzbek, Tajik Language Publications in Uzbekistan
LD0605101889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 6 May 89

[Summary] Yesterday a new newspaper, ANGREN KHAKIKATI, was published in the Uzbek language in the Uzbekistan town of Angren. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan also has agreed to the inclusion of pages in the Tajik language in papers in the Bukhara, Kashkadarya, Namangan, Samarkand, and Fergana oblasts. In Narimanovo the Uzbek newspaper SURAT is to be published in Russian.

Tajik Plenum Discusses 'Strained' Food Supply
PM0805090389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 6 May—A strained situation with food supplies has taken shape in Tajikistan. The increase in population has considerably outstripped food production rates, and this means that labor organization and mutual relations within the agro-industrial complex must be restructured more resolutely. This was discussed at a Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today, which examined the tasks of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs with regard to the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions.

A report given by K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches stressed that there must be a drastic increase in the return on land resources and a resolute switch to economic principles of organizing all agro-industrial production. Equitable partnerships between collective farms, state farms, lease collectives, personal subsidiary plots, and cooperatives must be ensured. That is one of the ways to render all production more successful.

It is no coincidence that this was the central issue. Colossal funds are invested in the agro-industrial complex, and the return is too small. The mean annual growth of output is one-fourth the rate of increase of production's material and technical base. An important part of the speeches was devoted to questions of modernizing the processing industry and bringing it near to the areas where agricultural output is produced.

In this connection the plenum stressed that it is necessary to resolutely get rid of inveterate forms of agricultural production management and eliminate strong-arm pressure and the practice whereby the party apparatus replaces economic organs. Party committees and primary party organizations must be real centers of political work and channels for CPSU agrarian policy, especially in resolving social, cultural, and environmental quesions and restructuring the countryside. It is their task to propagandize and support everything that is new and progressive.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question under discussion.

Restructuring Periodical Distributed in Minsk
LD0605162389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 6 May 89

[Summary] In Minsk a new periodical entitled, PERESTROYKA: TVOYA POSITSIYA [Restructuring: Your Position], has been distributed. The periodical widely uses statistics and is primarily aimed at party, trade union and komsomol workers, economic leaders, and at broad groups of the ideological aktiv.

New Family Journal Published in Khabarovsk
LD0605062889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 6 May 89

[Summary] A new publication in newspaper format appeared in Khabarovsk Kray entitled: MY I NASHI DETI. The local branch of the Soviet Children's Fund and the kray education bodies initiated the new journal. The first edition of the journal looks at the problems of families with many children, at the lives of children and adults in the far east, and at the contemporary state of teaching.

Baklanov Attends Radio Day Festivities
LD0605220489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A festive meeting was held in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions today dedicated to Radio Day, the holiday of workers in all branches of communications. On the presidium were Comrade Baklanov; Comrade Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; heads of ministries and departments, scientists, top production workers, and representatives of the Moscow public.

Comrade Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, stressed that the radical reforms of the economic mechanism and the introducion of achievements of scientific and technical progress are major requirements for the development of the communications media, electronic technology, radio, and television.

Conference on Historical Names Held

18000896 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 17, 26 Apr 89 p 1

[Report by Natalya Ivina]

[Text] **There has never been such a conference before.**

Linguists, historians, geographers, artists, and representatives of state organs and information associations of almost 90 cities gathered to discuss the need to develop a law on naming geographical sites in the USSR, to restore historical names that have been lost over the years—such as, "The power to the soviets, but the land to the peasants"—to emphasize that further progress in restructuring against the background of cult names from the Stalinist era is in sharp contradiction to its ideas—and, finally, that each national region has suffered from the eradication of the national toponymy.

The practical results of the first all-union scientific and practical conference "Historical Names—Monuments of Culture," organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Cultural Fund, were discussed at a news conference by a member of the SFK [Soviet Cultural Fund] board, V.P. Neroznak. Its participants suggested turning the conference materials over to a group of experts who, on assignment from the CPSU Central Committee, are developing scientific recommendations from the USSR Academy of Sciences concerning questions of national linguistic policy, in order to take them into account when preparing for the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the national question. Second: The SFK deputy group in the new Supreme Soviet is to be instructed to support the public initiative concerning returning to the map a number of historical names of cities. Third: A decision was made to develop the program "Toponymy" which includes activity for complete accounting everywhere for historical geographical names on the basis of a computer data bank. The department for the machine fund of the Institute of Language of the USSR Academy of Sciences is ready to begin its work, but the three personal computers of the IBM PC AT type and the 20,000 rubles are "not enough" for beginning a research project with an economic agreement. So a sponsor is needed!

At the news conference they also discussed acquiring the rough manuscript of I.S. Turgenev's novel "Fathers and Sons" for 400,000 pounds sterling. The state will act as the "patron" here. The history of this acquisition is full of drama, and 23,000 Leningraders participated in the struggle for the manuscript by signing a letter to the government demanding that it purchase the manuscript when it became known that it would be sold in a Sotheby's auction. Never before has a registered manuscript—rough, and therefore "speaking"—which is of immense interest to domestic philology and to the most general reader, been threatened with falling into the "black hole" of a private collection. Now we have to wait for new research and books for which this invaluable relic will serve as material. This will be discussed in greater detail in another issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

Solovyev Attends Military Award Meeting

LD0505224389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Heroes of the Soviet Union, full holders of the Order of Glory, and war veterans living in Leningrad and the oblast were invited to the Kirov Officers' House today. Members of the Military Council of the Leningrad Military District, servicemen from Leningrad garrison units, students from military colleges, internationalist servicemen, and young people from the city were also invited. Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad oblast party committee, took part in the meeting.

Conference Discusses History of Islam in RSFSR

PM0805095789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[M. Merzabekov article: "Scientists Discuss"]

[Text] History, culture, and Islam—a scientific conference held at the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department Bashkiria Scientific Center was devoted to this subject.

Scientists, skilled workers, and religious figures assembled for the first time to discuss a number of problems in public and spiritual life posed by restructuring. The aim of the conference is to search for ways to research the role of Islam in the historical and cultural development of the peoples of the Volga and Urals regions from ancient times to the present. Reports were heard about Islam and Islamic studies in Russia and the Soviet state's policy on religion, the church, and believers in modern conditions. A survey was made of the manuscript legacy of the Bashkir and Tatar peoples, which is preserved in records written in the Arabic alphabet.

Economic

Building Ties With Soviet Emigres Urged

18070631 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 May 89 p 3

[Article by I. Ushkakov, candidate of geographical sciences and V. Kheyfets, candidate of economic sciences: "Emigration: The View of an Economist"]

[Text] For a long time the problems associated with emigres from socialist countries, especially those with an economic aspect, formed a special sort of "taboo." New thinking in the resolution of problems of international

relations, democratization of internal life and radical economic reform have created conditions for a more attentive look at this process.

Emigration from Russia began long before the revolution; it encompassed various nationalities and social groups. It is worth recalling, for example, the Ukrainian emigration to Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and Australia; the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian to the Scandinavian countries, the Armenian to France and the United States; etc. Some of these emigres and their descendants hold a definite position in the economy, sciences, politics, and culture of the countries where they settled.

How are relations with the emigration formed? To our mind, it would be interesting to view the experience of other countries, first and foremost, that of the socialist countries.

At the Institute of Geography in the Polish city of Lodz there hangs a map of French "Polonia," that is, the settlement of Poles who had emigrated to France. Here, their distribution throughout the country, their occupations, and incomes are studied.

Interest in the life of former fellow countrymen is far from hollow. Knowledge of a country, its customs, morals, and finally, habits, the aspiration to visit places with which so much is connected, relations with relatives, a feeling of national community, even ambition, are far from the final word in determining the nature of mutual relations. In order to create more favorable conditions for multi-lateral, including economic, ties with Poles living permanently abroad, the special "Polonia" society was created.

One of the most important tendencies of its activities is the active stimulation of drawing in foreign capital and technology by creating private or mixed enterprises, the so-called "Polonia" firms. A number of privileges, including taxation, are stipulated for this. Privileged investment credits are also granted.

The country currently has approximately 700 "Polonia" firms, which employ over 60,000 people. The basic spheres of their activities are electronics, medical equipment, construction and construction services, pharmaceuticals and low-tonnage chemistry. Of an annual production volume of 160 billion zlotys, their profit is 40 billion zlotys. This promotes an expansion of production. In 1987, these firms assimilated over 12 billion zlotys in capital investment, constituting almost 1 percent of all of the national economic investments.

The "Polonia" firms not only help saturate the domestic market with needed goods and services, but earn hard currency as well. The export share in the volume of production realized in these firms comprises approximately 5 percent, and that of the major firms reached 10 percent; the annual export volume to capitalist countries comprises approximately $35 million.

The "Polonia" firms also conduct charitable activities, finance information undertakings connected with cultural and scientific exchanges and specialized tourism.

Another aspect of the problem is also important. Mixed enterprises "educate" genuine business people, highly qualified specialists oriented not only toward the judicial and economic aspects of the activity of one branch in their country, but toward global tendencies. Acknowledgment of that fact is the designation of M. Wilczek, the former director of the major and prosperous "Polonia" firm "Lavil" as the Polish People's Republic's [PPR] Minister of Industry.

The Chinese colony beyond the country's borders numbers over 20 million people (not including the population of Taiwan). In China, they are called "Huaqiao," which translates as "bridge to China." The majority of them lives in Southeast Asia, and major financial and trade capital is concentrated in their hands. The "Huaqiao," among whom, as among all Chinese, family relations are important, do not lose touch with the land of their ancestors, and the state attempts to create the most favorable conditions for this. For example, special, less expensive hotels are built to attract emigre-tourists. Incidentally, a significant portion (by some accounts, two-thirds) of tourists arriving in China are "Huaqiao." The stream of money transfers and packages to relatives in China from "Huaqiao" is not drying up.

The new process of Chinese young people traveling to study at institutions of higher learning in capitalist countries at the expense of relatives is developing. "Huaqiao" scientists are frequently invited to China, they lecture with pleasure on the latest themes.

But from the economic point of view, this is not the main thing. The capital of the "Huaqiao" has become the basic source of the flow of foreign currency into the country. Over $20 billion has already been invested in China in this way. These resources are the basis for the development of the special economic zones which have been created in the country. "Huaqiao" are the main partners in the creation of mixed enterprises.

In Vietnam, the receipts from money transfers and parcels from Vietnamese living abroad is $120-150 million. This is only slightly less than the entire export in convertible hard currency. A "brain" import is utilized as well—Vietnamese scholars living abroad are invited for consultation and temporary work in scientific centers, and in the long term, they are attracted into joint ventures.

Ties with "national specificity" are given great attention in other socialist countries as well. Thus, cooperation with Western firms headed by Hungarians make a definite contribution to the resolution of a number of problems of the Hungarian economy. The visible American financier (Dzh. Soros), of Hungarian descent,

founded the "(Soros) Fund Management" which grants stipends to Hungarian students to study in the United States and other Western countries.

We cannot fail to mention such an experience in our country. For example, the choice of location for capital investment of the Italian entrepreneur Luigi Albertine, the great-grandson of L.N. Tolstoy, is hardly coincidental; he owns a firm which breeds milk-producing long-horned cattle and is organizing a joint venture in Tula Oblast. Priceless gifts to the Soviet Culture Fund and USSR museums from emigres and their descendants of different nationalities bear graphic testimony to the firmness of bonds of national affinity and patriotic feelings. And look at the help by the people of Armenian extraction to their brethren who suffered losses due to the earthquake!

The time has now come to work on these issues seriously, and to create the most favorable conditions for establishing mutually advantageous economic contacts with former fellow countrymen who have left the country for one reason or another at different times.

In this matter there are good prospects for activities both at the level of the entire union and of individual union republics. At issue is the creation of an array of societies patterned after the Polish "Polonia," which would specifically handle these issues. The purpose of their operation would be multifaceted—active transfer of foreign capital to the USSR on mutually advantageous terms, and not "in general," but to specific regions, specific spheres (production, services, tourism, culture, education) in which the worst shortages occur. At the same time, such societies would be able to render information and advisory services to such enterprises, give loans, provide some preferences for foreign citizens who, for example, wish to receive their education in a given republic, and so forth. Such operations dovetail with the concept of territorial economic accountability and granting greater rights to republics in the sphere of external operations. Undoubtedly, the entire country stands to win as well.

The social effect of such activities creating a particular environment for bringing countries closer together would be no less significant than the economic effect.

At present, it is difficult to even mention all the avenues of operations by such societies. Practice itself should suggest new avenues for their activities. We do not have to invent specific arrangements at the first stage, as they already exist, and are practiced quite efficiently in other socialist countries.

Agricultural

Ligachev Chairs 5-6 May Conference on Farming

LD0505221689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; for further reportage on the 5-6 May zonal seminar-conference in Kaluga Oblast see page 97 of the 9 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Excerpts] A conference began in Kaluga today on accelerating the social reorganization of the countryside, expanding cooperation between industrial and agricultural enterprises, and developing family farms, collective horticulture, and market gardening.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn] The conference is chaired by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov delivered a report. [video shows Vlasov addressing conference; Ligachev sitting beside him] [passage omitted]

[Vlasov] About 15,000 square meters of housing has been built recently in the Oktyabrskiy state farm. But the large city-type houses have not stimulated the development of private plots, so now they are building farmstead-type houses with outbuildings. [addressing Ligachev] What do you think of what they have built here? Does it match your idea of a farmstead?

[Ligachev] Yes, without a doubt, absolutely. I think they are doing what is required, because this is a proper residential house, in which the people working here can organize their home life well—that is, create proper living conditions—and also seriously participate in family farming. [Ligachev then turns to inhabitants of house] There's only one thing I would like to impress upon you: You must live on your own, within your family holding, and not at your parents' expense.

[Unidentified man] No....

[Ligachev, interrupting] No, no, no, my friend.

[Man] Now, we're only looking ahead....

[Ligachev, interrupting] Yes, so keep your own accounts.

[Man] Yes, we are.

[Ligachev] We've just had a meeting with a comrade, Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Gusev who, with his family—seven people, as I understood it....

[Second unidentified man, interrupting] Yes.

[Ligachev] ...Who in fact, seriously operates a farmstead. He has several cows and pigs. In short, after working it out together, he and his family sell enough to the state to provide 70 or 80 people with meat and milk, applying

the current norms, the current standards, and he earns good extra income. Yet you young people have a bit more energy than he does; he's already a pensioner, but, nevertheless he has shouldered such a burden. So it turns out that one can operate things on a large scale. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Agricultural Developments for 4-8 May Reported

LD1105043989

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 4-8 May, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

4 May

In its latest meeting, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau outlined specific measures to overcome the effects of the heavy snow and sharp drop in temperature on 30 April and 1 May. Almost a third of the cotton sown and 300,000 hectares of orchards and market gardens were adversely affected by the weather. Livestock has also been lost. The republic government is providing assistance to collective and state farms as well as to individual peasant holdings. (0204)

The foothill areas of the Fergana Valley in Uzbekistan have been particularly affected by inclement weather. Throughout Uzbekistan tens of thousands of livestock have perished (0104)

Torrential rain, snow, and gale-force winds in early May have caused immense damage to many farms in Shaartuz Rayon of Tadzhikstan. (0104)

In Kuban more then 250,000 hectares of barley have been sown. (0900)

In the Kulundinskaya steppe zone of Altay Kray 100,000 hectares of sunflowers for cattle feed are being sown. (0900)

Farmers in Vladimir Oblast are using a new variety of spring wheat, (Enita), this year. (Enita) should yield up to 80 quintals of grain per hectare. (1100)

Turkmenistan machine operators have begun resowing fields hit by inclement weather. (1100)

5 May

Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: Farmers in southern rayons are the first to start planting. This season spring crops are to be sown on more than 400,000 hectares. (0800)

Altay Kray: Sowing of annual grasses has begun. The acreage allocated is 630,000 hectares. Crops new to the kray—Sudan grass [Sudanskaya Trava] and Crimea millet [Krymovoye Proso]—will be sown on significant amounts of land. (1100)

Heavy snowfall and frost in Kirghizia have inflicted serious damage on the republic's agriculture. Vegetable crops have perished over a large area, and orchards and vineyards have suffered from frost. There are 280,000 hectares of perennial grass crops under snow. In the view of experts, the overall loss exceeds R113 million. A headquarters has been set up under the republic's Council of Ministers to coordinate the rendering of practical assistance to affected farms. Seed, mineral fertilizers, fuel, lubricants, additional machinery, and implements are being delivered here promptly at the moment. (2230)

6 May

No fileworthy items monitored

7 May

A total of almost 600,000 hectares of grain crops have been sown in Aumr Oblast. (0600)

8 May

Mass harvesting of winter rape has begun in Chernobyl Oblast. Machine operators are harvesting 100 and more quintals per hectare. The area cleared is being replowed, fertilized, and sown with corn for silage and grain. (1100)

Military

Yazov Victory Day Speech, Lobov Interview Published

Yazov Addresses Veterans

PM1005161189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major A. Plotnikov: "In the Name of Life"]

[Text] On 5 May a meeting took place at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, and veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the USSR Armed Forces.

The day before the meeting's participants visited Moscow Military District units and formations, attended exercises, talked with personnel, familiarized themselves with servicemen's life and living conditions, and shared memories.

Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, opened the meeting devoted to the victory holiday.

In the hall there were celebrated Soviet commanders, marshals, generals, heroes of the Soviet Union, full bearers of the Order of Glory, and workers from the capital's factories and plants.

Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, Army General I.N. Shkadov, holder of three Orders of Glory N.S. Bulychev, and others, spoke to those assembled.

In their speeches the veterans spoke about the need to improve young people's military-patriotic education, about the correct and sensible application of the invaluable experience of participants in the war, and about how to better and more rapidly eliminate the negative phenomena which exist in the Army and Navy.

USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov made a warm speech to the veterans. He stressed that the victory holiday is a splendid holiday of the Soviet people, who bore the brunt of the world war. It is a holiday for people of good will in many countries throughout the world because the deliverance of the peoples from fascist and militarist enslavement is connected with it, and the hopes of all mankind to get rid of war once and for all are connected with it.

The USSR defense minister went on to elucidate the progress of the main operations of the Great Patriotic War, in which many of the veterans present in the hall participated directly. They can rightly be called coauthors of our great victory.

Army General D.T. Yazov noted the veterans' great contribution to Soviet youth's military-patriotic education, to the objective interpretation of our country's history, and of the difficult and heroic pages of our past. He thanked the meeting's participants for their selfless service to the country.

In conclusion the USSR defense minister answered veterans' questions.

General Lobov Interviewed

PM1005125589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 May 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, doctor of military sciences, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by N. Sautin on the occasion of Victory Day: "And Only the Truth Will Do"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the struggle against a cruel enemy. But Victory Day is not only our, Soviet festival. Fascism was routed through the joint efforts of the peoples and states of the anti-Hitler coalition, the heroic partisans, and the members of the antifascist resistance movement. By helping the Soviet Army in the struggle against the invaders, the European peoples gained their national and social liberation.

Many countries chose the socialist path of development after the war. So it is no coincidence that Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, doctor of military sciences, who heads the staff of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces, is our interlocutor on the eve of the victory festival.

[Sautin] There are still many unknown pages in the history of the struggle against fascism. You are, at the same time, also a leader of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and do, of course, possess information on secrets kept in the General Staff archives, which are still closed to researchers.

[Lobov] I think it appropriate here to recall A. Tvardovskiy's now well-known lines: "A single untruth will be to our detriment, and only the truth will do!" People, particularly young people, do not always realize what a strong enemy we vanquished. They must know the whole truth: both about our defeats and about our victories. Without "gaps" or "lacunae of silence."

Much has been done for this. A large number of documents of the prewar and war years have been published, and the seal of secrecy has been removed from them. But I want to be understood correctly. It is natural that there is not wide access to our depository. However, documents that have lost their practical significance are periodically transferred to the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archives and to other archives where it is possible to familiarize yourself with them.

According to my information, mainly only documents of the postwar period are now kept in the General Staff Archives.

[Sautin] Soviet divisions fought on the territory of 13 European and Asian countries. But on what grounds in international law did the Soviet Army conduct military operations there? Some historians, including ones from fraternal countries, now reduce many historical faits accomplis to a secret treaty of the allies' coalition to divide up the world and to Stalin's desire to establish "Soviet military control" in East Europe.

[Lobov] Attempts to portray our country and its Army as an aggressor and to ascribe hegemonist aspirations to the USSR are not new. I see behind them a desire to absolve international imperialist reaction of responsibility for unleashing World War II. At the same time the greatness of the Soviet people's exploit is belittled, and the image of a potential enemy is covertly created.

Soviet servicemen did not enter a single one of the 13 countries as aggressors. Their actions were in keeping with international legal procedure current at the time. Our Army entered the territory of some states as enemy territory. Agreements on joint operations against fascist Germany were concluded with some of them after an armistice was reached. We entered other countries on the basis of bilateral treaties and agreements. Thus, in the

fall of 1944 the Soviet Government and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia reached an agreement on the entry of Soviet troops onto the territory of Northeast Serbia and on their joint operations with the People's Liberation Army. At the same time the USSR declared that its troops would be withdrawn from Yugoslavia after fulfilling combat tasks.

In my view, the allegations of a "secret compact" among the allies to "divide up" the world are also groundless. I will remind you that the "Declaration on Liberated Europe" was adopted at the Yalta conference in February 1945. It stated that the heads of government of the USSR, the United States, and Britain had agreed among themselves to help to establish an order on the continent which would enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last traces of fascism and, I emphasize, to choose the form of government of their own will.

I do not know of any documents that attest differently.

[Sautin] A large group of scholars is writing a new history of the Great Patriotic War. Is there a guarantee that this history will not have to be redone some years later, striking out certain figures, names, and facts and replacing them with others hitherto unknown to anyone?

[Lobov] I, too, would like to receive such a guarantee.... I think a great deal here depends on the scholars themselves, their conscience, their sense of duty to the living and the dead, and, finally, their resistance to all kinds of situations and political ambitions.

[Sautin] Are the Soviet units in Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary part of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces and, consequently, subordinate to the Joint Command, or are these units under the control of the USSR minister of defense?

[Lobov] The groups of Soviet forces are stationed abroad temporarily. Their presence there is conditional upon fulfilling the allies' pledges under the Warsaw Pact. The legal status of the Soviet servicemen, their family members, and the Soviet Army's workers and employees stationed on the territory of each of the four countries you named is defined in corresponding bilateral treaties and agreements.

At the same time I consider it necessary to emphasize that the Soviet Union has always been and still is a resolute opponent of the so-called base policy. In the fifties our troops were withdrawn from Port Arthur (the PRC), Porkkala-Udd (Finland), Austria, and Romania. And today, realizing the military doctrine's theses, the USSR is reducing its military presence abroad. The Soviet troop withdrawal from the territories of a number of European socialist countries is continuing.

About the Joint Armed Forces. Each allied country allocated certain contingents of its troops and fleets to them. Their strength, composition, and also their organization and equipment with armaments and hardware and other connected issues are determined by the government of each state with due regard for the recommendations of the Political Consultative Committee and the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces and in accordance with its own economic and military potential.

The troops and fleet forces allocated to the Joint Armed Forces are subordinate to the national ministries of defense.

[Sautin] A debate over the kind of army that is needed today is characteristic of the socialist countries' press. The positive progress in improving the climate of trust and security in Europe has obviously left its mark on this debate. Is our friends' view of the Armed Forces similar to the view of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff on the vital need to have under modern conditions a regular cadre army manned on the basis of compulsory military service?

[Lobov] Yes, calls are even being heard today for the unilateral elimination of the socialist states' armed forces—it is said that the aggressor will perish from his own weapons—and for the unification of the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact....

What an army should be like and how it should develop depends only to a small degree on our will. The chief factors here are the economy, the level and nature of the threat of war (real, not imaginary), and political, ideological, and other realities. And these are such that today we cannot abandon a regular, mass army and compulsory military service.

[Sautin] The general trend toward reducing troops has affected the fraternal countries, too. What are the prospects there for reducing armed forces and budget appropriations for defense? Are these questions coordinated within the framework of sessions of the Warsaw Pact states' foreign and defense ministers committees, or is this the prerogative of each country's government?

[Lobov] Armed forces, arms, and defense spending are being cut in all the allied socialist countries. During 1989-1990, for example, the GDR National Army, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the Bulgarian People's Army will be reduced by 10,000, 12,000, and 10,000 men respectively. Defense spending will fall by 10 percent in the GDR, 15 percent in Czechoslovakia, and 12 percent in Bulgaria. Considerable reductions of armed forces and military budgets are planned in Hungary and Poland. Romania carried out a 5-percent reduction in its Armed Forces, arms, and military spending almost 3 years ago.

These steps by the fraternal countries constitute a purposeful, concerted action. They were discussed at various levels within the Warsaw Pact. As a result, corresponding recommendations on restructuring the allied socialist countries' Armed Forces were adopted at last year's Political Consultative Committee session in Warsaw. The Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine was the basis of that restructuring.

[Sautin] The need to establish relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a really nonconfrontational basis and to create corresponding conditions with a view to the simultaneous disbandment of both alliances and, as the first step, of their military organizations is becoming increasingly obvious today. How do you, a leader of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces, picture this process in practice?

[Lobov] The Warsaw Pact states consider Europe's split into opposing military blocs abnormal. However, NATO lacks the identical understanding and desire. And while the blocs still exist, it seems useful to establish closer contacts between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance. Including in the military sphere.

In my opinion, there are points from which both the Warsaw Pact and NATO can start. Helsinki, Stockholm, and Vienna constitute a good basis for improving relations. And the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles must not be disregarded either. I believe that a powerful boost will be provided by the talks of the 23 nations from both NATO and the Warsaw Pact and by the implementation of the Soviet plan for a three-stage reduction of armed forces to levels sufficient exclusively for defense. There is a long-urgent need to draw up military doctrines with due regard for their military-technical aspects for the purpose of imparting an exclusively defensive nature to the concepts and activities of both military alliances and their members.

[Sautin] Our new political thinking and the domestic and foreign policy actions corresponding to it have changed the international climate for the better. However, the favorable changes are not so great that they alone could account for the impressive unilateral reduction in armed forces and arms. So has this been brought about also by some "excess" of arms, by "overarmament"?

[Lobov] The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of the Strengths of the Armed Forces and Arms of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe and in Adjacent Waters" was published in January of this year. It points out that the military balance in Europe, taking all its constituents into account, may be described as approximate parity allowing neither side to count on a decisive military advantage. There is no question either of an "excess" or of "overarmament."

The socialist community countries have undertaken to reduce their armed forces because they consider it important and necessary to prove by deeds the sincerity of their intentions and their adherence to the new political thinking. They are convinced that political measures take priority in preventing war today and that security can and must be built not by way of increasing arms but by reducing their numbers on a compromise basis. The economic advantage must not be disregarded either, of course.

The reduction is also conditioned by the need to fill the military-technical aspect of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine with specific content. The principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense has begun to be realized, although its limits are set not by us but by the actions of the United States and NATO. In addition to reducing troops and forces, this principle also presupposes changing the structure of the Armed Forces so as to impart an exclusively defensive thrust to their groupings and redistributing arms in the overall balance.

[Sautin] By noting the present parity in arms and unilaterally reducing our own Armed Forces, are we deviating from positions of equilibrium in NATO's favor? I proceed from the program speech of U.S. President Bush, who declared his reluctance to reduce U.S. military spending in the next few years.

[Lobov] The remaining forces and means are adequate to repulse aggression and to guarantee the reliable defense of the USSR and the entire socialist community.

[Sautin] What is your attitude to the mandates for many USSR people's deputies to set up a military commission under the USSR Supreme Soviet to monitor the activity of the Ministry of Defense?

[Lobov] In principle, mine is a positive attitude. For we are building a rule-of-law state.

[Sautin] And the final question. A 14th department has been set up in the United States—the Veterans Department. It occupies fifth (!) place as regards the size of the annual budget—approximately $30 billion—and covers 534 various medical establishments.... Do we show adequate concern for the people who "did what they could to bring nearer" the day of victory?

[Lobov] To tell the truth, no. Our society is obliged to do for them far more than has been done. Particularly for veterans living in rural localities, but also for the widows of men who died in the war. And not just materially.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate IZVESTIYA's readers—both veterans and young people—on our sacred festival. May not only our memory but also our deeds be full of gratitude to those who brought May 1945 closer at the cost of their blood and their life.

Military Tribunal Directorate Chief Interviewed

PM0905164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General of Justice A. Muranov, chief of the Military Tribunal Directorate, by IZVESTIYA correspondent Ye. Zhbanov: "The Truth About Tribunals"; date and place not given; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] The very title "military tribunal" provokes a certain unease. It is not just a court—it is a tribunal. And what do we know about tribunals, their past and present? Virtually nothing. The subject used to be taboo—there was more conjecture than truth. This was the subject of the interview between IZVESTIYA's correspondent and Major General of Justice A. Muranov, chief of the Military Tribunal Directorate.

[Zhbanov] As far as I am aware, Anatoliy Ivanovich, revolutionary tribunals were initially set up in our country to combat counterrevolution. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal's first case in May 1918 was against Shchastnyy, the former chief of the Baltic Fleet. This resulted in the first death sentence. For some reason this is considered the starting point for Soviet military justice activity—activity which is clearly severe by dint of its specific nature.

[Muranov] Indeed, it dates back to May 1918. But this has nothing to do with the first case heard by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal. Unfortunately, even certain historians still confuse territorial revolutionary tribunals with military tribunals. Yet revolutionary tribunals were set up in accordance with the Decree on the Courts No 1, while military tribunals—seemingly emergency organs!—did not form any part of the republic's judicial system: They were set up at the discretion of revolutionary military soviets. Incidentally, the People's Commissariat for Justice opposed their formation. The first military courts emerged on the fronts of the Civil War in May 1918. They emerged spontaneously and without legal status, and were guided purely by military department instructions. Only in November 1919 did the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopt a corresponding decree.

Now to the matter of severity. Of course, the very fact that military tribunals have repeatedly wielded emergency powers speaks for itself. Even in 1920, when the death penalty was repealed for sentences handed down by the All-Russian Emergency Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage and revolutionary tribunals, military tribunals retained this right.

At the same time, the widespread opinion that military tribunals used the supreme penalty indiscriminately during this period is wrong. Again in 1920 military tribunals sentenced 5.4 percent of all convicted prisoners (5,757 men in total) to be shot, while they acquitted 16.4 percent of prisoners and gave suspended sentences to 22.8 percent. As you can see, these figures do not reveal any excessive severity, much less a tendency to find people guilty.

I would note that even during the Patriotic War the main form of punishment was imprisonment. And during the first, toughest months of our forces' retreat widespread use was made of suspended sentences, with the convicted being sent to the front rather than being put behind barbed wire. I agree it was tough. But it was not degrading for soldiers' honor.

I do not claim that all cases were resolved beyond reproach during the war. No, there were distortions. The need to react quickly to serious crimes and the concomitant simplification of the trial process increased the likelihood of sometimes tragic judicial mistakes. During the Civil War the lack of legislation had a pernicious effect. There were even aberrations. Red Army men, for instance, used to be sentenced to "exile from the Soviet Union, where the convicted can see for himself the superiority of the Soviet system over the capitalist system." But these were mistakes—not tyranny.

[Zhbanov] However, it is well known that during the years of Stalin's repressions the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium (usually under the chairmanship of Ulrikh) rubber-stamped death sentences. And not only against military defendants, against civilians, too. What was that—an exception? How did military tribunals operate in general back then?

[Muranov] That's a difficult question.... It is important to remember that, unlike the Civil War period, the intensification of the repression that began in the late twenties was not caused by any emergency. And Stalin's false theory of the exacerbation of class struggle merely provided an ideological basis for the already widespread coercion apparatus. We note that the bloody "troykas" [extralegal provincial courts with the power to pass death sentences] started work back in the "year of the great breakthrough" on the basis of an OGPU [Unified State Political Administration] circular. The unified People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD] was set up in 1934 along with the notorious Special Board. And in the same year, in accordance with the USSR Central Executive Committee resolution of 10 July "On the Examination of Crimes Investigated by the NKVD and Its Local Organs," more and more major accusations of counterrevolution (treachery, espionage, terror, and sabotage) were placed under the "auspices" of the Military Collegium (with respect both to civilians and servicemen). Other counterrevolutionary cases were heard by general courts (where special collegiums were set up) as well as numerous special courts—transport courts, camp courts, and so forth. A "conveyor belt" of NKVD troop tribunals worked in isolation, kept secret from everyone. But the main thing was that the judicial procedure was sharply cut back and simplified and guarantees of trial

were removed. In short, justice became just a word. Moreover, the leading role in the mass reprisals was played by extrajudicial organs such as the "troykas."

It has to be admitted that during the whipping up of the campaign against "enemies of the people" few people had the courage to stand up to blatant violations of the law sanctioned from the very top. Judges who tried to approach evidence objectively often found themselves to be "enemies" after the trial. K. Danishevskiy and V. Trifonov, the first leaders of military judicial organs; tribunal chairmen L. Plavnek, N. Bushuyev, M. Sitnikov, I. Smirnov, and many others were purged in 1937-1938.

In concluding this tragic overview, I can only add that, from the midfifties through the historic 20th party congress, the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium and okrug military tribunals became entitled to review not only sentences passed by lower tribunals, but also sentences passed by NKVD troop tribunals, OGPU collegiums, "troykas," and the Special Board. Many cases with regard to people who had used illegal methods of investigation were also examined.

[Zhbanov] Could you talk in more detail about the progress being made in the work to rectify the mistakes of the past?

[Muranov] Yes. By 1964 military judicial organs had rehabilitated more than 300,000 people. But then, alas, the long silence of "stagnation" fell.... Today the rehabilitation of party and state leaders, scientists, and military leaders is well known from numerous articles. A vast range of cases is being examined by okrug and fleet military tribunals.

Here is one of them—it is absurd and, regrettably, typical. Senior Lieutenant Zolotov was arrested 1 month after the victory. He was awarded combat orders and had been wounded twice. And yet the military tribunal convicted him to 8 years' imprisonment and 5 years' deprivation of rights, confiscated his property, and stripped him of his military rank and orders.

What was the charge? The officer, who had twice spilled his blood for the freedom of the Soviet motherland, was accused of the notorious charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Among the documents forming the basis of the charge, the first was a report from a "Smersh" ["Death to Spies"] counterintelligence department, which stated, in particular: "On 22 May 1945 in conversation with officers Zolotov tried to prove that party policy in economic building was wrong and should follow the path proposed by enemy of the people Bukharin...." "Describing policy on matters of collective farm [kolkhoz] building, Zolotov stated: 'The directives arrange matters in such a way that peasants who join a kolkhoz are ultimately ruined and dispersed,'" and so forth.

So it was on the basis of these "seditious" statements (very consonant with those being made today) that the young front-line soldier's career was wrecked. Zolotov finally received his full rehabilitation literally the other day. It stated that there was no charge to answer. Fortunately, it did not come through posthumously; he is living in Vologda Oblast.

[Zhbanov] Here is a curious point. I have often heard from defense attorneys—that is, objective people—that civilian courts could learn a thing or two from the terrifying tribunals on how to strictly follow the letter of the law. Just what is a modern tribunal? Does it stand apart in the our judicial system? Does it guarantee a right to a defense? Is there glasnost and openness in its investigations?

[Muranov] I would start by saying that until recent years the activity of the military justice system was a well-kept secret. It is not surprising that certain people of the older generation still shudder at the very word "tribunal," while young people have only a vague idea about what they are. Although both sides are united in the conviction induced by lack of glasnost that tribunals are allegedly more terrifying than ordinary courts, are instruments of struggle, and are punitive organs isolated from other courts.

But, above all, military tribunals are not isolated and—unlike military justice in a number of capitalist countries—work under legislation that is the same for all courts. All democratic initiatives in the field of justice apply to us in full. All trials held on military tribunal premises are open to all—with the exception, needless to say, of those relatively rare cases when, with the law's blessing, a case is heard in camera. And even a simple comparison of statistics on the sentences handed down by people's courts or military tribunals for identical crimes (embezzlement, for instance) shows that the arguments about excessive tribunal severity are based on conjecture.

Do we not realize that the kids who come to serve in the Army are still wet behind the ears and many of them suffer a drop, if one can put it that way, between their level of comfort in civilian life and in the military unit? Do we not realize how important it is to approach their fate with particular responsibility and, if they stumble, to give them a chance to return to the fold? That is why only one in four defendants are sentenced to imprisonment (as against one in three in the people's courts), and more than half are sent to disciplinary battalions to serve their sentences.

There is no point in hiding the fact that the military justice system, too, was unable to avoid the harmful influence of stagnation phenomena. But clearly, the things that happened in the civilian courts did not happen here, to go by defense lawyers' opinions. And they could make the comparison that we have a general legal consultation service staffed purely by civilians. No

need to think that I'm blowing my own trumpet—defense lawyers themselves called us islands of legality during the years of stagnation. Why? If only because tribunals have always treated defense lawyers as equal parties to the trial, have always listened to their opinions, and attentively examined every petition.... Moreover, tribunal officers encountered so-called "telephone law" far less often. One guarantee of their independence is that military courts are not subject to the disciplinary jurisdiction usual for servicemen.

In general, military tribunals have long ceased to be emergency punitive instruments; they are organs of justice for the equal defense of the rights of servicemen, civilians, and the state. And, I would note, acquittals have long ceased to be any kind of sensation: The law is the law.

[Zhbanov] A great deal is currently being written about so-called nonstatutory relations in the Army—or simply, bullying—which had gone unmentioned for years. Servicemen largely explain this phenomenon by citing the "general state of society." Do you not think, Anatoliy Ivanovich, that they are thereby trying to make excuses? In the past it was thought that the Army cured young people of all vices.... What do you think? How often are cases of bullying heard? What conclusions are being drawn?

[Muranov] If we compare the dynamics of convictions in the country and in the Armed Forces, they always virtually coincide. That is natural. The causes defining the dynamics of crime in society are reflected under Army conditions. Nonetheless it should not be forgotten that during all periods and eras Army conditions have made it possible (needless to say, provided that matters are properly organized) to restrain illegal sentiments. I think it is no accident that crime among servicemen has recently been falling steadily (unlike overall crime statistics). Last year, for instance, the figure had halved in comparison with 1985.

I wholly share the great social alarm prompted by the depravity of bullying. And although convictions for crimes committed on this basis fell by one-third last year, the problem is still acute: Roughly every fifth case we hear is linked with the desire of older servicemen to belittle new recruits and violently subject them to their influence.

Let me be blunt, we have heard many complaints to the effect that the struggle against nonstatutory manifestations has not been effective enough. I agree. But I must note all the same that we should campaign more vigorously before things reach the point of crime. The courts are the last resort.... Our task is to objectively resolve criminal cases according to the law. Incidentally, there is justifiable criticism nowadays of directives issued in the past, when justice was tasked with fighting crime (the punitive distortions in judicial policy were due to this in no small measure). But it would be wrong to forget that tribunals reeducate people; whereas what we need to do above all is to educate people.

The roots of bullying are, unfortunately, social—they are to be found in the morals of people's life before the Army. These morals predetermine the vitality of this shameful phenomenon that is alien to our Army. For instance, sociological research has shown that one in three people polled have encountered the cult of strength at their place of study or work before entering the Army. It is typical that one-third of those convicted for nonstatutory mutual relations studied in vocational and technical colleges before being drafted, and one-fourth were brought up in broken homes without a father. Social factors under Army conditions build, as it were, on the traditions of bullying that have emerged, as a rule, in places where there is no statutory order and where people are not concerned about the lives and leisure time of servicemen. And crime is the result....

Yet the recognition of sore points makes it possible to prevent a great deal—and painlessly at that. There have been graphic confirmations of this. For instance, last year only seven soldiers were convicted of nonstatutory manifestations in all the airborne assault troops—that is a negligible figure compared with the recent past.

[Zhbanov] I would like to mention crimes of a special nature. Clearly, the war in Afghanistan—which, fortunately for us, is over—also gave rise to "particular" kinds of crimes. As we know, an amnesty has been declared for the few servicemen who were captured. But were other military crimes committed in combat? Is there any point in pretending now that nothing criminal happened in Afghanistan at all?

[Muranov] Of course, rumors sometimes anticipated events. But there's no getting away from the truth: Crimes were committed in Afghanistan, too. Selfish and violent crimes. Crimes against our own countrymen, our brothers in arms, and against the local populace. However, you clearly made the reservation that an amnesty had been declared for captured servicemen. Soviet law does not make it a criminal offense to be captured. The amnesty was aimed at cases when people have committed specific crimes while being held captive. I would like to emphasize that our tribunals sentenced people in Afghanistan according to peacetime laws. Higher sanctions for crimes in "wartime" were not used: The legal status of our troops prevented it.

It is a great pity that the work of tribunals in Afghanistan was not covered in the press. Whenever the subject of crime did "surface" it did so for some reason in a distorted and biased form. Thus, the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV featured an article entitled "Rut" on the former officer Kuzmin who was convicted by a military tribunal. In the very first lines you read that the officer was sentenced to the firing squad for "abuse of authority..." (?). And then, making the seemingly

correct observation that war hardens people and sometimes drives them to crime, the writer depicts only that part of the situation which confirms this truism. Against this literary backdrop the tribunal's sentence seems even tougher and more unfeeling than the crime itself.

The truth was that Kuzmin was sentenced to death not for abuse of authority but for a premeditated murder under aggravating circumstances carried out for selfish reasons with particular cruelty in order to cover up other crimes. Selfishness was the main motive. Purely for the sake of material gain—losses in the case amounted to more than 9 million afghani—several entirely innocent people were killed by Kuzmin personally or on his orders.

The tribunals achieved moral authority on Afghan soil simply by making particularly stringent demands on the purity of the truth. Here is one instance. During a criminal case the need arose to conduct an investigative experiment. Where? In the Darreh-Salang Tunnel. While the trial participants were in the tunnel, the detachment guarding the entrance had to engage the dushmans. And yet the experiment went ahead and the truth was checked for the sake of a just sentence.

[Zhbanov] The social prestige of courts and judges has now become a statewide problem. Does the legal reform cover military justice? If so, to what extent?

[Muranov] Naturally, it fully covers us. I repeat that we do not stand apart within the justice system, which should be the "main tool for the observance of law and order." Many problems are common to all courts. At the same time, military life produces its own "features" closely linked with the democratic transformations in the Armed Forces. A key feature is the training of legal cadres. The fact is that the Military Institute's Military Law Faculty is simply incapable of providing for our real needs. Consequently, we have been forced to fill our "staff shortages" with officers who have been on correspondence courses, the level of which, to be blunt, is on the low side for work on the bench. It is appropriate to recall that in prerevolutionary Russia there was an Academy of Military Law and its graduates held equal rank to officers graduating from the General Staff Academy. We also had such an academy, but it was abolished in the midfifties, when the entire world was told that lawyers in our society—much less military lawyers—were nothing more than parasites.

Admittedly, life has shown that saving money on lawyers is the same as saving money on doctors. So we hope to restore an independent educational establishment with academy status, which could become at the same time a center for research into problems of military law. The paradox is that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, and the state security organs have their own scientific centers, while the Army—where our entire service is stipulated in juridical norms—lacks such a center.

Or take the calling of witnesses at a trial. According to an instruction ratified 25 years ago, these people are paid expenses of 50 kopeks a day for a hotel and 75 kopeks as a per diem. That is the prestige of a tribunal for you.

The cramped and impoverished conditions in which people's courts are housed have become a byword. But what about us? I can assure you that things with us are not much better. I have recently returned from Komsomolsk-na-Amure. The military tribunal there is in a ramshackle shed that literally rattles in the wind: It has been there since the "city at the dawn" was founded.

What can I say—the worn-out infrastructure meant that our judicial system came out of the spendthrift era of stagnation needing handouts: That was the attitude toward justice. Although it is well known that cheap justice costs society too much.

[Zhbanov] The reform is framing the question more widely—the rule-of-law state, the supremacy of the law and legality. This is a unified process—it affects all law enforcement organs. But, forgive me, what about the departmental highhandedness that has for years encouraged officials to think that "the organs are never wrong" and allowed them to feel more like masters than servants of the law? Do not the barriers of departmental thinking pose a danger, in your view?

[Muranov] What can I say? One would have thought that the very idea of a rule-of-law state would reduce all departmental claims to a common denominator—legality. And the prestige of justice does not derive from the prestige of the judicial department but from the prestige of our entire law and order system. A great deal is now being done to strengthen the prime role of the courts and their independence. However, we cannot fail to be alarmed by the statements by certain law enforcement organ workers calling for the destruction of the democratic principles of justice. Quite frankly, I was simply staggered when an investigator at the USSR Prosecutor's Office directly stated his concern in a central newspaper that the courts pass sentence purely on the basis of evidence obtained in a judicial session. Does the law really enjoin us to act in this way? In another newspaper recently a USSR deputy minister of internal affairs accused the courts of being too punctilious in observing the presumption of innocence. Naturally, I welcome pluralism of opinions. But it is a bad thing that in exchanging opinions, certain comrades have allowed themselves to launch abusive attacks on the courts. Clearly, they still see legality as a one-way street. I must say that no reforms will improve our law enforcement practice unless we restructure the mentality inherited from the era of departmental diktat and complaisant judges.

Now that we are restructuring our common home of justice and the cornerstone of a socialist rule-of-law state is being laid I would like to hope that all the urgent problems linked with the lofty mission of the courts—not least the military courts—will be worthily resolved.

Army Readers Raise Restructuring Problems

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[Editorial Report] Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 17, 22-29 April 1989 (Signed to Press 18 April), publishes on page 19 a 1,600-word feature headed "Letters From the Army," consisting of a selection of five letters to the editorial office from members of the Armed Forces. The first two letters deal with suggestions for improving incentives for commanding officers and chiefs and conditions for officers serving in the Far East. The third, from Lieutenant Colonel V. Medvedev, begins:

"Our tank formation will soon be subject to disbanding [rasformirovaniye]. So instead of spending the remaining time checking all the machinery, servicing it, putting it in store, and preparing to hand it over, they suddenly "planned" mass exercises. How many people were taken out of the national economy, and not just for 1 day! I asked our command: Who needs this? It is sabotage! According to the most modest calculations, the cost of the exercises will run to millions of rubles. This was the reply: Foreign observers have been invited to the exercises, and no one is going to cancel them. Are we really so rich? Is there really not a single statesmanlike person in our top headquarters who would be bold enough to revoke this senseless decision and inform the observers that the exercises were canceled because of the reduction of the Armed Forces? And what are we going to show the Americans? This is not a statesmanlike approach...."

Medvedev then goes on to raise points about wasteful methods of training, complaining in conclusion that "our generals are not used to counting the state's money."

The next letter complains about secrecy in the drafting of documents concerning Army affairs and calls for glasnost in military life. The final letter, from Captain V. Dragun in Chita, reads as follows:

"How is restructuring going in the Armed Forces? Is it going at all? What concerns the Army public? Doubtless many people hoped to receive at least partial answers to these questions while watching a television program devoted to the problems of restructuring in the USSR Armed Forces.

"After all, the Army, by virtue of its specific nature, in particular its strictly hierarchical structure and the system of universal subordination that prevails, was probably more subject than any other state structure to erosion and deformations in past decades. And whereas society has now begun to recover from this erosion and these deformations, in the Armed Forces there has not yet been much progress beyond words. At least we learned from this program that several draft new laws on reorganizing the Army have apparently been prepared. Clearly the participants in the 'roundtable' should have discussed these drafts in more detail, instead of asserting, for instance, that an officer has the same rights as any other Soviet person. Personally, I immediately find myself wondering: What about the constitutional right to choose a profession or type of occupation? Why should a person who, at the vague dawn of youth, has once chosen the profession of officer, be unable to change it subsequently at his own wish until he reaches pension age? Is this not an infringement of rights?

"It is now being suggested that officers will be permitted to discharge themselves to the reserve 10 years after graduating from the military academy. Is that not rather a long time? In my view 3 or at most 5 years is quite enough to find out whether one has made the right choice, and at the same time to repay to the state what it spent on his training. But 10 years of work not through vocation, but through coercion can be degrading. What use to society is a morally broken man who has lost his sense of prospects? At the same time, in allowing officers the opportunity to be discharged to the reserves at their own wish, it is necessary without fail to enshrine their right to return to military service. We must not go from one extreme to the other, so to speak. But while officers are in the position of serfs, there will be no changes in the soldiers' service, and in general no substantial changes in the Army can really be expected.

"Enshrining the right of officers to be discharged from the Armed Forces will, among other things, increase the influx of those wishing to enter military training establishments and strengthen the cadre composition of the officer corps. After all, it is no secret that many young people cannot make up their minds to devote their lives to the Army, because they know it is forever. Do those officials who oppose major changes in the provisions on officers' service understand that?"

Military Surplus Goes on Sale in Belorussia

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[Text] A report from the Belorussian TASS correspondent: Military vehicles demobilized in connection with the cuts in Armed Forces being carried out in our country have started to be sold to members of cooperatives, lease-holders, and private individuals by the republican commercial center of the State Committee of Material and Technical Supply of Belorussia. ZILs, URALS, KAMAZes, and GAZes have been hand over for marketing by the Belorussian Military District and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Military property is also on sale. Means of individual protection, for example, are popular. Fishermen and hunters readily acquire them.

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